



Daily Report

East Europe

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Tirana To Take Part in CSCE Process

AU0903204190 *Vienna Television Service in German*
1830 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Albania intends to take part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, briefly the CSCE, as an envoy of Albanian chief of state Alia told Italian Premier Andreotti recently. During his visit to the United States, Andreotti informed UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar of this Albanian plan. In the course of his Eastern Europe trip, Perez de Cuellar intends to pay a visit to the Balkan country, Albania, on 11 and 12 May.

Newspaper Views Balkan Cooperation

AU1103141990 *Tirana ATA in English* 0927 GMT
11 Mar 90

["Cooperation—Realistic Alternative for the Balkan Countries—Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 11 (ATA)—From March 7-9, the meeting of senior officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries held its proceedings in Athens. At the end of the meeting, the participants adopted a process verbal, appreciating its results, laying the stress on the indispensability of preserving and promoting the multilateral Balkan cooperation in various fields, the article stresses among the other things.

The bilateral or multilateral cooperation, dialogue and understanding as well as good neighbourliness in the Balkans make up a necessity to the interests of its peoples.

It is for this reason that the initiated process must be consolidated and promoted. Time has come to materialize it. Particularly in the conditions of our peninsula at present, this calls for the elimination of ancient problems inherited by history as well as the new ones that often arise, and retard the process of the Balkan cooperation. Century long coexistence of the Balkan peoples has mixed them and currently this must not serve as an element to retard or undermine the Balkan cooperation. The attitude towards minorities must contribute to the positive processes of our region, they must be bridges of friendship, understanding and strengthening of good inter-Balkan friendship. The treatment of the problems of minority with wisdom, without blind nationalist passions, without violence and terror, deprived of every

denigrating prejudice of the bigger nation, is today more indispensable than ever, to promote the bilateral or multilateral Balkan cooperation. To this end serves also the proposal of the Albanian delegation in Athens on drafting a document of good neighbourliness among the Balkan states.

After pointing to the Balkan activities scheduled for the future and the fields of cooperation as well as Albania's stand regarding the problems of turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, the struggle against terrorism, drug trafficking, the article stresses:

The PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania has rendered and will render its contribution to the promotion of the process of inter-Balkan cooperation and understanding. This is expressed through its concrete acts. The second meeting of foreign ministers scheduled for the second half of October this year in Tirana will be a step forward in consolidating this cooperation. Cooperation is the realistic alternative for strengthening peace and stability in our region and broader.

Trade Protocol With Vietnam Signed 8 Mar

AU0903124690 *Tirana ATA in English* 0934 GMT
9 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 9 (ATA)—The protocol on the exchange of goods and payments for 1990 between the government of the PSR (People's Socialist Republic) of Albania and the government of the SR (Socialist Republic) of Vietnam was signed in Tirana on March 8.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by the deputy minister of foreign trade, Altin Ylli, and for the Vietnamese side by the deputy minister of foreign trade Le Kim Lang [name as received]. Attending the signing ceremony were the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, as well as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Vietnam in Tirana, Nguyen Chi Thanh.

On the basis of the protocol, the PSR of Albania will export to the SR of Vietnam copper wires, bitumen, pyrite concentrate, etc., and will import rice, coffee, natural rubber, edible oil, etc.

During its stay in Albania, the Vietnamese delegation was received also by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci. Present at reception was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Vietnam to the PSR of Albania, Nguyen Chi Thanh.

Foreign Ministry Explains Vote on Cuba*AU0903212790 Sofia BTA in English
1924 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—In connection with the announcement made by the mass media that Bulgaria cast her vote for the adoption of the resolution on "the situation of human rights in Cuba" by the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, the Human Rights Department of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been authorized to state the following:

The changes carried out in Bulgaria after November 10, 1989 led to respective changes in the application of the international standards of human rights. On this basis we react in compliance with them in the cases of reported violations of human rights in any country, Bulgaria included.

In our opinion in essence the resolution is not directed against Cuba. Casting a vote for it out of considerations of principle does not mean any change in our policy of friendship and cooperation with that country.

Spanish Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit*AU0503214790 Sofia BTA in English
2111 GMT 5 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, minister of foreign affairs of Spain, today arrived here on an official visit at the invitation of Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs.

Mr Fernandez-Ordonez will hold talks with his Bulgarian counterpart, with government and party officials, and with representatives of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces. The chief Spanish diplomat is expected to give a news conference at the end of his visit.

Ordonez Agrees With Host*LD0603160990 Madrid Domestic Service
in Spanish 1300 GMT 6 Mar 90*

[Text] Foreign Minister Fernandez Ordonez is in Bulgaria. Our special correspondent, Rosa Gimenez, reports from Sofia:

[Gimenez] The communist support includes Spain's support for the process of democratic opening up that Bulgaria is experiencing. This was conveyed by Fernandez Ordonez to his Bulgarian counterpart, Dimitrov, during a long working session at the beginning of the visit by our foreign minister to this Balkan country, the Soviet Union's most faithful ally. The ministers and delegations of both countries have agreed on specific collaboration on two fronts. On the one hand, from the strictly community aspect and on the other from the bilateral aspect. Minister Ordonez referred to both aspects, the community as well as the bilateral, at the end of this morning's meeting, starting with the community's support which will be on three fronts:

[Begin Ordonez recording] First, the work in Bulgaria by the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development; second, Bulgaria's inclusion in the so-called group of the [words indistinct], the group of 24; and, third, the signing of an agreement that was started during Spain's presidency of the community, of economic cooperation with Bulgaria. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Meets Lilov*AU0603200590 Sofia BTA in English
1853 GMT 6 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—Mr Boyko Dimitrov, foreign affairs minister of Spain and Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, his Spanish counterpart, signed an agreement on avoiding double taxation. They exchanged ratification documents for coming into effect of a veterinary and sanitary intergovernmental agreement between Bulgaria and Spain, which will facilitate trade with animals, products and raw materials of animal origin.

During talks which began here today between foreign minister of Bulgaria and Spain an agreement was reached for carrying negotiations for setting up of a Bulgarian cultural center in Madrid and of a Spanish one in Sofia.

Prospects for cooperation in tourism, agriculture and light industry have been discussed in the Dimitrov-Ordonez talks, as the Spanish foreign minister told journalists. He said that Spain will offer Bulgaria credits but the details about that will be clarified later. An agreement was reached for starting of negotiations for agreement of encouragement of investments.

Minister Ordonez stressed the European Community support for democratization of the political life and liberalization of the economy in Bulgaria. This support is also backed by Spain, he said. Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez said that this support is expressed in several directions: for Bulgaria's participation in the European Bank of Restoration and Development, for including the country in the programs for helping the Eastern European countries by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, for signing a cooperation agreement with the European Community.

Minister Dimitrov marked the two countries identical opinions about the common European process, from the point of view of changes in Eastern Europe and the prospect about Germany's unification. He stressed Bulgaria's interest in Spain's experience for the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic regime. The Bulgarian foreign minister expressed satisfaction with the agreement to hold a workshop in Sofia in the near future, at which Spanish politicians will discuss together with representatives of the political forces in Bulgaria the Spanish experience. According to our estimation this experience is extremely interesting and useful for the things we are doing here now, Mr Boyko Dimitrov said.

Today Mr. Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez paid a visit to Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The present visit of the minister of foreign affairs of Spain was evaluated as a political event which is very important and useful for Bulgaria.

During the talks the transition of Spain to a democratic society was explained. The two sides discuss some problems of the situation in Europe, the place of Bulgaria and Spain in the future common European home and problems of the cooperation in different fields.

As the Spanish minister of foreign affairs is an eminent member of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, it was agreed to establish contacts between the two parties in the future.

Mr. Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez had also a meeting with Mr. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly.

Todorov Receives Ordonez

*AU0603203290 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 6 Mar 90*

[Text] The sooner the free and democratic elections in Bulgaria take place, the better this will be reflected in the country's situation. This was the opinion expressed by National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov and Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Spanish foreign minister, who met today. They agreed that relations between the two countries' parliaments are not sufficiently active and expressed willingness to develop and expand them.

The guest heard with interest information about certain aspects of the National Assembly work.

Later, Minister of Foreign Affairs Boyko Dimitrov gave a dinner in honor of his Spanish counterpart.

Meets Mladenov, Lukanov

*AU0703162090 Sofia BTA in English
1432 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, received Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, minister of foreign affairs of Spain.

Mr Petur Mladenov briefed his guest on the democratic political and socioeconomic changes underway in Bulgaria, on the preparations for free elections, on the efforts to consolidate political forces to the benefit of the processes of renewal. He pointed out that Bulgaria relies on the support and solidarity of the rest of Europe, the Spanish people included, for the reforms in this country.

The Spanish foreign minister handed Mr Petur Mladenov a message from Mr Felipe Gonzalez, prime minister of Spain, who expresses the Spanish Government's

readiness to promote efficient cooperation with Bulgaria. The message says that Spain supports Bulgaria's integration with Europe.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez stressed the two countries' readiness to pursue mutually advantageous cooperation, to take an active part in the CSCE process for the sake of peace, in the interests of the efforts to overcome the division of the continent.

At the meeting Between Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez and Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Spanish foreign minister's visit here was characterized as the beginning of a new stage of bilateral relations.

The sides considered the priority areas in the promotion of Bulgaro-Spanish cooperation: tourism, agriculture and the light industry.

Particular attention was paid to the negotiations on a trade and economic cooperation agreement between Bulgaria and the European community, to the steps towards more active contacts between Bulgaria and the Council of Europe and other international organizations on the continent.

Ordonez Discusses Visit

*AU0703162190 Sofia BTA in English
1437 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[“Spain Supports Bulgaria's Democratization”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—At the end of his official visit here, Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, minister of foreign affairs of Spain, told a news conference that his Government and people support the reforms in Bulgaria.

The minister stressed the keen interest which his country has been showing in the changes in Bulgaria “ever since the moment when we learnt about the decision that Bulgaria will become a free and democratic state committed to the rule of law, with guaranteed human rights, free elections and a mixed economy.” “We are already in the same boat,” said Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez.

Among the moves undertaken to boost bilateral ties from their low level, Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez listed Spanish loans for Bulgaria, cooperation in tourism, agriculture and the light industry, drafting an investment promotion agreement, and opening cultural centers of the two countries in Sofia and Madrid, respectively.

The Spanish minister of foreign affairs said he had discussed with his Bulgarian hosts the arrangements for the visit to Sofia by H.M. Juan Carlos I, King of Spain, which will probably take place this coming autumn.

The activation of Bulgaria's contacts with the European communities will be probably considered at the forthcoming EC summit in Dublin, according to the chief Spanish diplomat.

Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez shared his impressions of a meeting with Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, and with other opposition activists.

The forthcoming elections in Bulgaria will be entirely free, said this country's minister of foreign affairs Mr Boyko Dimitrov. He explained that this is guaranteed by the drafting of an Electoral Law and of a Political Parties Act in dialogue between the ruling party and the opposition. He recalled that Bulgaria had invited members of parliament from a number of European countries and representatives of the Council of Europe and of other international institutions to monitor the elections.

Mr Dimitrov discussed the measures to guarantee the rights of all Bulgarian citizens in compliance with the European Convention on Human Rights and other international instruments. He noted the importance of the Bulgarian Citizens Names Act, passed on Monday, as an important step towards guaranteeing the rights of the Muslim and Turkish-speaking population in this country and stressed that Bulgaria's ethnic policy is based on a consensus among all political forces.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov and Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez described the Spanish foreign minister's visit as very fruitful.

Visit Assessed

AU0803074990 Sofia BTA in English
2219 GMT 7 Mar 90

["Democracy: Balance Between Freedom and Justice"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA, commentary by Metodi Krustev)—The early spring in Bulgaria brought a bunch of senior Western European visitors as a wished adornment from the somewhat late political spring in this country. In a few weeks only, here came as many foreign ministers and prestigious business guests as there have not been in an year. And they were from countries and organizations which did not want to communicate with Bulgaria in the time of "real socialism." This fact would have been stressed as of how important Bulgaria's place in Europe was. Now, in the beginning of democratic socialism it is becoming clear how important are Bulgaria's relations with Europe. Apparently times are changing and we are changing with them, too.

Of all the official guests who visited this country, till now, this change was perhaps most strongly confirmed by the visit of the Spanish foreign minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez. After the changes which have taken place in your country, we are already in the same boat, he said. If this is true we must specify that in that boat Bulgaria is at the oars, while Europe is correcting its course, but this is not disparaging. It would have been worse if they didn't want to accept us in the boat.

The words of the Spanish minister are sufficient to summarize what is common in all visits. Their aim is

that Western Europe will become familiar with all changes which are taking place in Bulgaria and understand if these changes give sufficient guarantees, that we will remain in the boat and will not again decide to jump from its board. On the grounds of these observations it will decide whether to adopt concrete actions, which the country's restoration needs, as an European democracy, besides the common things in all visits, however, the Spanish one has its nuances which make it a special one.

In the history of Spanish democracy there are at least two examples which show analogues with democracy in Bulgaria. After the ouster of the Franco regime in Spain, the opposition which stopped to be illegal, agreed with the government for free and frank elections and a programme for the country's national salvation from an economic collapse. Today, political forces in Bulgaria are facing the same two vital issues. The movement towards democracy in Spain at the time was a dramatic one, but did not reach to a tragic confrontation and that country can pride today with its equal presence among the most highly developed states in the world.

Today democracy in Bulgaria is dramatic. Is it going to be tragic? The Spanish experience shows that in the solution of priority problems there must be a political consensus. Only consensus and not confrontation can help democracy, because, as Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez says, democracy is balance. Balance between freedom and justice.

Opposition Forces Hold First Conference

AU0903220390 Sofia BTA in English
1950 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—Twenty-seven political parties and organizations are represented at the first national conference of the opposition forces which opened today. Its purpose is to unite the opposition for joint participation in the forthcoming elections. According to the leader of the Christian Republican Party in Plovdiv, Konstantin Adzharov, setting up an opposition cabinet is the maximum program of the conference.

According to the participants in the three-day meeting it is possible for the opposition to unite, because all opposition parties have the same purpose the establishment of a democratic society by peaceful and legal means. The programs of many of them are similar, the differences being mainly of tactical character. Two opposition blocs have sent their representatives to the conference the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) and the Political Opposition Bloc (POB); there are also representatives of parties aligned to neither of them.

The UDF unites 15 parties and movements and a trade union federation, including the influential Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Party, the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, the Radical Democratic Party and the Green Party. Another four organizations have declared they are willing to join the UDF and others, preserving

non-alignment, support the UDF. The UDF is for unity of action of the opposition in the pre-election campaign and has already set up a United Opposition Club.

The Political Opposition Bloc, made up of six parties, is the host of the meeting. While the members of the UDF are hundreds of thousands, for the time being the numerical strength of the Bloc is measured in tens of thousands. The parties and organizations participating in the conference declared the approximate number of their members. Almost half a million people belong to the opposition groups, but it should be noted that there are people who are members both of a party and of some other organizations and that the party have no precise data as to their numerical strength, because most of them are yet to hold their congress.

Conference Opens

*AU1003150290 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] [Announcer] A national conference of the opposition forces opened today in Plovdiv. Our reporter Yasen Indzhev sent this dispatch from the studio of Radio Plovdiv:

[Indzhev] Is it possible for the opposition forces to unite, with whom, and on what basis? The participants in the conference are attempting to find answers to these and other questions. The parties and movements that make up the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] and representatives of other organizations that so far have not joined the UDF are seeking common points of contact with a view to combining their platforms in a single union at the forthcoming elections.

Today there was also a change in attitude toward the journalists, because of which we managed to record the draft declaration of unification that was read by Georgi Spasov.

[Begin Spasov recording] We, the combined democratic opposition, propose a new fate to the people.

We stand for an organization of society that guarantees people's power and the liberty of man.

We stand for equal rights, and the possibility for everyone to take his fate into his own hands, to live honestly by his labor, and not to depend on the arbitrary decisions of those in power.

We support a market economy, social justice, and a united and indivisible Bulgaria.

We stand for a European Bulgaria, with its own place and role in the family of the free peoples of the common European home and the developed countries.

We stand for a peaceful transition to this new Bulgaria. The barrier standing in the way is the nomenklatura, the political chameleon that in the course of 45 years has continuously changed its faces, but without ever giving up its monopoly over power, that changed its views and

ideas, its tactics and strategy, but not its exploitive essence. This political chameleon can be toppled from power by peaceful means only by the united people.

We stand for the free expression of the people's will, for free democratic elections under international control.

We support liberty, democracy, and security for the people, guaranteed by the people.

This is why all of us, both the UDF and the parties and movements that are not UDF members, unite around the platform of the UDF and authorize the UDF delegation to represent them at the national roundtable.

We all support democracy, and will participate in the elections on a united basis. [end recording]

[Indzhev] Which parties have expressed their readiness to sign the declaration? They are the following:

The Party of Free Democrats, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Party of Freedom and Progress, the Christian Democratic Party, the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Republican Party, and, to the amazement of everyone at the conference, the Alternative Socialist Party.

We learned with surprise of another event in Plovdiv, to which, however, no journalists were admitted. In one of the cinemas in Plovdiv a meeting took place between Ginyo Ganev, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, and Fatherland Front activists. We tried to find out something about the motive or purpose of this meeting but have no information so far.

Conference Fails To Agree

*AU1003173490 Sofia BTA in English
1622 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] Plovdiv, March 10 (BTA)—Twenty-nine parties and associations today reached an agreement to continue contacts between each other and come tomorrow with a common declaration after the first conference of opposition forces in Bulgaria closes. No unification of all participants was reached. The political opposition bloc consisting of six parties with some 20,000 adherents will be preserved. The Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) with half a million members, received the support of yet a few other parties.

The SDS, which includes 15 parties and organizations, signed together with the Bulgarian Democratic Forum, New Social Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Party and the Republican Party a declaration of the united opposition. The declaration points out as the only culprit for today's catastrophic state in this country the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] which took power in 1944 with the help of the Soviet Army and established a totalitarian anti-people's regime by terror and force. It is stressed that changes after the ouster of Todor Zhivkov on December 10 last year have not concerned the essence of totalitarianism. The signatories declare themselves for overthrowing of the nomenklatura power in a peaceful

way and the free expression of the people's will, for democratic elections under international control. The signatories will participate unitedly in the elections, while the parties which are not in the SDS will be represented at the national roundtable by the SDS. The representative of the Alternative Socialist Party expressed an approval in principle of this document while the Democratic Constitutional Party backed the union demands. The Bulgarian Socialist Party said it will not join any of the blocs.

The SDS, which conducts negotiations with the ruling parties, addressed an invitation for cooperation to three of the parties in the political opposition bloc, which did not, however, sign the declaration. The representatives of the Free Democrats, of the Party of Freedom and Progress and of the Liberal Democrats said the reason was in their wish to preserve their bloc's unity. The SDS did not invite the other three parties of the democratic opposition to sign the declaration: the Christian Democratic Party, the Independent Democratic Party and the Bulgarian National Democratic Party.

In reply, the political opposition bloc offered its own declaration in which it proposes unification in view of election victory and composition of a coalition government. Representatives of some of these six parties accused the SDS of making attempts to impose dictatorship over the other opposition forces and to take monopoly over the opposition.

In spite of these statements, leaders of the SDS stressed that they stand for a general election campaign and do not wish to oppose opposition parties and appealed for termination of the dispute. The SDS will not give up the interests of the Bulgarian opposition, one of the leaders said, having in mind negotiations with the ruling circles at the national roundtable, which resume Monday. It is most probable that the BCP will be already represented there at the highest level.

150,000 Rally for Opposition Newspapers

*AU0903222490 Sofia BTA in English
2021 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—This evening 150 thousand people gathered for a rally in St Aleksnadur Nevski Circus to give their support to the opposition papers.

Speeches were made by representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) and journalists from the opposition papers DEMOKRATSIA, SVOBODEN NAROD (Free People), NARODNO ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME (People's Agrarian Banner), EKOPOLITIKA (Ecopolity), EK (Echo), NEZAVISIMOST (Independence), from PODKREPA (Support), IZBOR (Choice) and GRAZHDANIN (Citizen) the issue of which is forthcoming. The very first speech raised the slogan "Free and mass press".

RABOTNICHESKO DELO receives 12 thousand tons of paper and DEMOCRATSIA only 520 tons", a journalist from DEMOKRATSIA said. Yordan Vasilev, editor-in-chief of DEMOKRATSIA, explained that yesterday the Chairman of the National Assembly, Andrey Lukanov, [title as received] promised that as of the second quarter there will be no limitations of the DEMOKRATSIA daily. But according to his today's official letter the circulation of the paper will be 100 thousand up to the end of this year.

"Down with the BCP" [Bulgarian Communist Party], "UDF" and "Free Circulation" were the slogans chanted at the rally.

All speakers insisted that "the authorities and the opposition should be given equal opportunities in the pre-election campaign". The gesture of the staff of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, who declared that they will give up part of their paper to the opposition newspapers SVOBODEN NAROD and NARODNO ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME, was defined as "praiseworthy and timely", but intentionally made just before the rally.

"Let the readers' interest determine the circulation of the opposition papers", another speaker said.

A RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter, who was there to cover the rally for his paper, was challenged to take the floor. He said that every Bulgarian can chose which paper he will subscribe to in the autumn subscription campaign.

At the end the rally adopted a resolution. It is insisted on an unlimited subscription for all papers, on giving SVOBODEN NAROD and NARODNO ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME the possibility of becoming dailies, on allowing other organizations and private persons to issue papers and on guaranteeing equal rights for all publications by the press law.

There were about 150 thousand people at the rally much more than the circulation of DEMOKRATSIA, one of the speakers said.

Opposition Leader Addresses Plovdiv Rally

*AU1003154590 Sofia BTA in English
1520 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[*"The Opposition Believes in Winning Elections"*—BTA headline]

[Text] Plovdiv, March 10 (BTA)—The victory over the Communist Party in the forthcoming elections is possible in case of a powerful national support for the democratic opposition and its unity, said today in front of a huge rally Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF). The first conference of this country's opposition forces was held here.

The SDS leader once again declared himself for holding of elections for a grand constituent national assembly. Its task will be to adopt a new constitution. It can be an

entirely democratic one, as I exclude the possibility that Communists will win the majority in this assembly, Dr. Zhelev said.

He warned about the ruling circles attempts to weaken the opposition. He gave as example "ERA-3," tolerated by the official authorities. Dr. Zhelev rejected the attempt of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), which was represented in the government only until recently, to declare itself as an opposition. He said that the SDS is not against the uniting of BZNS with the oppositional "Nikola Petkov" BZNS, but provided it happened without a "nomenklatura hat" and in case the united party joined the union (SDS). This would place the BCP in entire isolation, according to Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev.

Students Hold Rally Outside Printing Plant

AU1003211890 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] This afternoon a students' march ended in front of the building of the Printing Combine in Sofia. The Federation of Independent Students Associations initiated the rally. The students were joined by sympathizers who supported the young people in their protest against the antistudent campaign that they alleged was being waged by the RABOTNICHESKO DELO newspaper.

The speakers reminded the crowd of the motive for their dissatisfaction, namely the materials published by the newspaper following the student procession held on 2 March.

Our hands are clean; the demonstration is in our hands, and we will not use violence, said one of the spokesman of the young people.

The participants in the rally expressed outright opposition to policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. Disbelief and distrust was voiced regarding the attempts to dismantle totalitarianism, and the view of the party organ concerning their demonstration was described as similar to the opinions of Stalinist propaganda. Personal rebukes were directed against Stefan Prodev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO editor in chief, whom the participants accused of mounting an unworthy campaign against the students.

UDF Rallies in Stanke Dimitrov, Velingrad

AU1003170690 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] For renewal and democracy—the aim and task of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF]: This was the slogan under which several thousand people attended a rally in the town of Stanke Dimitrov, organized by the local leadership of the opposition. Those attending were disappointed by the nonappearance at the meeting of the opposition leaders Zhelyu Zhelev, Elka Konstantinova, and Petur Dertliev, as had been previously announced. The speakers from Sofia and the town itself all condemned the previous totalitarian regime and also

attacked the present leadership of Bulgaria, under which there was no chance of bringing Bulgaria out of the serious political and economic crisis. According to them, only the UDF was equal to these essential tasks, and they appealed to those attending the rally to vote for the UDF candidates in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

According to our correspondent Zheko Zhekov, about 70 percent of those present at the rally remained passive toward the speakers' words.

The UDF also organized a rally in the central square in Velingrad, at which the main speakers were Dr. Konstantin Trenchev and Father Ambarov. Those taking part in the meeting, who came mostly from the town and the surrounding villages, heard the speakers explain some of the most important viewpoints embodied in the opposition's election platform. Among other things, Dr. Trenchev stated that the present wave of strikes throughout the country has no effect on the country's economy, and that the UDF is the only organization that can bring the state out of the present impasse. Father Ambarov said that the hand that the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is extending to the opposition is dishonest and evil. At the rallies, slogans well known from other meetings were chanted by individual groups, such as: "Down with the BCP." However, most people listened in silence, while evidently determining their individual positions in relation to the forthcoming elections. This report was sent to us by our correspondent Radka Mileva.

Central Cooperative Union Congress Opens

AU1003162790 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] The 10th Congress of the Central Cooperative Union opened in the Sofia People's Palace of Culture today. The accountability report that analyzed activities within the period following the Ninth Congress was followed by lively debates.

Delegates from Sevlievo, Ivaylovgrad, Pleven, Ruse, Plovdiv, Yambol, and other parts of the country took the floor.

Emphasis was laid on the abuses committed by the command-administrative system against the cooperatives and upon the initiated restructuring process. It was pointed out that the cooperatives' self-management should be enhanced and any outside interference should be stopped.

The true restructuring process requires that the cooperatives' independence should be reintroduced.

It was recommended to restore the saving-credit activities of cooperatives and that they should increasingly participate in purchasing agricultural goods, thus expanding the production of mass consumer goods, foodstuffs, and services for the population.

It is envisioned to transform the former okrug cooperative unions into regional cooperative unions that should represent a voluntary association of individual cooperative and not their administrative superiors.

During the evening session, which still continues, the draft on amendments and addenda to the Central Cooperative Union Statute are discussed.

Union Ends Congress

*AU 1003211290 Sofia BTA in English
1851 GMT 10 Mar 90*

["Is There Going To Be a Revival of the Bulgarian Cooperative?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—The 10th Congress of the Central Cooperative Union ended.

On its second day prevailing were the contradictory statements with concern over the Bulgarian cooperative and doubts on whether the congress is not being manipulated.

The cooperative is one of the basic self-managing organizations, the resolution of the congress reads. It also determines the right of the cooperatives to unite. Cooperative property should develop on equal terms with the other types of property in Bulgaria.

The resolution demands openness about the state of cooperative property and the share taken away by the state. Some simplified relations with the state are planned which do not allow its interference. One of the important demands is to guarantee the entire independence of the cooperative in profit distribution, in the formation and spending of financial funds.

The cooperative is to return to its habitual activities: production and purchase of agricultural produce.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 10 March, in reporting the end of this congress as the first item in the newscast, adds the following: "The congress elected Pancho Ivanov as chairman of the Administrative Council of the Central Cooperative Union"]

Alternative Socialist Party Holds First Congress

*AU1003180490 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] Our reporter Roza Chergova sends this dispatch from the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia today on the work of the first congress of the Alternative Socialist Party [ASP].

[Begin Chergova recording] It must be pointed out that the congress began here in an exceptionally businesslike and constructive manner, with a high standard of skill and good behavior being displayed and without excessive emotion and sentimental deviations concerning the past.

The election of the working organs, secretariat, and commissions for preparing the platform, statute, and election of the leadership of the ASP took literally minutes to complete.

The political report delivered by Docent Nikolay Vasilev, the ASP leader until now, was unusually laconic, precise, and clear. To sum up its content, the report summarized the party's activity and its initiative group to date, as well as the party's political principles and future economic platform. Nikolay Vasilev defined the party's real place in the political scene and the groups and parties toward which it would be oriented in the future. The party will align itself, he stressed, with those who are fighting for justice, liberty, and solidarity—the values that are needed by the whole of society. It is our desire, the chairman declared, to form a party with a new spirit, with new interrelations, a modern European party, a party of construction with concern for the weak, and aiming to raise the authority and dignity of every Bulgarian citizen. We are in opposition to those who, (?unwilling to be deprived of) their posts, accumulated over the years, are ready for everything. We leave them to the thousands of party members who are not connected with the repressive regime.

It seemed that the excellent, lucid report set the tone for those who spoke subsequently, who, without dwelling upon individual points in the report, are coming out with constructive proposals relating to the election campaigns in which, as it was stressed, the party members will be practical, tolerant, and honorable toward their opponents, and will aid those groups and conditions that will reinforce the party's ideological platform.

The congress is continuing its work with speeches by the delegates. [end recording]

Further on Party Congress

*AU1003211490 Sofia BTA in English
1827 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—A party without a past but with a future; a party of youth, of merciless sincerity, party of the open policy, of openness of all political resolutions and actions: those were the slogans by which the newly founded opposition Alternative Socialist Party [ASP] opened today its first congress.

As Associate Professor Nikolay Vasilev, chairman of the party's Initiative Group, said in his report, the party is not an opposition to the tens of thousands of members of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], not related directly with the theory and practice of the present regime and the people who are observing diligently their duties. It is an opposition to those who until yesterday actively contributed to the formation of totalitarian structures while today they want to rule again, and promise to build democratic structures.

The Alternative Socialist Party popularized again socialist ideas and values. Its objective is the building of

a humane, democratic, united and free society, which desires the elimination of discrimination and stands for social justice.

The party was founded by an initiative group which left the BCP on February 11 at the time of the second conference of the BCP Faction Alternative Socialist Association (ASO) and by non-party people who joined it. Among the ASP members now there are experts, highly qualified specialists from all spheres of social life and mainly from the circles of the engineering and technical intelligentsia.

There were 564 delegates present at the congress. The party has organizational structures in 80 municipalities in the capital and throughout the country.

Associate Professor Nikolay Vasilev stated that irrespective of its radical and decisive demands the ASP will pursue its political campaign calmly, in a civilized way, with respect for all other political forces.

He said that both the ruling BCP and the opposition are to blame for the deepening of the "political chaos" in this country and for "the exacerbation of social tension."

Nikolay Vasilev sees the chances of the Alternative Socialist Party in the unification of socialist and social-democratic parties and movements in the country into a stable social-democratic bloc.

In the discussion which started, there were a few basic topics: the party pre-election platform, its place on the political stage, including the issue whether it should join the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) or remain as an independent political force; which are its natural allies. Attention was paid to the political situation in the country and the party's first programme documents.

Most of the disputes circled around the issue on whether the party should join the SDS. The opinions that the ASP should not join the SDS are prevailing. A group of the delegates, however, firmly opposed this stance and said they are forming a faction of the free socialists which will join the SDS.

A political declaration was adopted which indicates that the Alternative Socialist Party is an independent political party with a stable program strategy. Organizationally it does not join any of the presently existing political associations and unions.

Its relations with the other political parties and movements are built on the basis of the party's political principles. It rejects ad hoc aims and political manipulations.

The ASP backs the concrete struggle of the SDS for immediate dismantling of the totalitarian, social, political and economic structures, for persistent democratization of society.

It backs the radical reforming forces in the BCP and the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union]. We do not, for the time being, see prerequisites for interaction with these parties in terms of leadership, pursued policy and apparatuses and economic structures, the declaration reads.

The ASP sees as its natural allies the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, the Radical Democratic party, "Nikola Petkov" BZNS, the New Social Democratic Party, the Green Party, the Federation of the Clubs for Openness and Democracy, the Movement "Ecoglasnost."

The ASP backs all trade union organizations which truly support its members' interests.

Tomorrow the congress is continuing. There will be election of leading bodies.

Party Congress Ends

AU1103170590 Sofia BTA in English
1618 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) ended today its First Congress with a package of programmes, outlining the party's political and economic platform.

The delegates who yesterday insisted for the ASP joining of the opposition Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) and intended to join the union independently and establish a faction, gave up today this idea in the name of the young party unity. (The ASP was founded a month ago).

The ASP will work with the SDS but outside its organizational structure.

The party has established its first international contact. One of its representatives is invited to participate in the congress of the French Socialist Party.

Today the congress elected the party's leading bodies: a 33-member Political Council and a 7-member Auditing and Financial Council.

Associate Prof. Nikolay Vasilev was elected chairman of the party.

Stanko Todorov Approves Names Act

AU1103174890 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI
in Bulgarian 8 Mar 90 p 1

[Report on interview with National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov by Simeon Danevski; place and date not given: "A Law Without Question Marks"]

[Text] The recent draft Law on Bulgarian Citizens' Names has become a law. It was greeted with the greatest relief by those 2,000-3,000 people who had gathered around the National Assembly on the evening of 4 March and were the first to welcome the law, because they were totally satisfied....

As a matter of fact, we now need peace for solving our fundamental problems related to the democratization of our state, and therefore general satisfaction prevails. This is what National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov stated on the occasion.

[Todorov] I am fully satisfied with the Law on Bulgarian Citizens' Names that was recently adopted. It is a very good law and is in total harmony with the spirit of the Bulgarian state's democratic traditions. It gives the opportunity to every citizen in our country to choose his own name in accordance with his ethnic and family traditions.

[Danevski] Do you think that this law is likely to solve the crucial problems related to the nationality issue?

[Todorov] The law will settle, to a great extent, the national issue that is a painful matter affecting all of us. This law is likely to serve as a bridge for our national consensus and reconciliation.

[Danevski] Do you expect new unrest in certain areas of our country?

[Todorov] No, there should be no reason for any unrest. Things are peaceful for the time being, and this how it should be. The All-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests and the Rhodope Rodolyubie Society responded positively to the law and showed their understanding.

[Danevski] Are both sides in the controversy protected by the law in question?

[Todorov] Yes, the interests of all people are well protected, which represents the most reliable guarantee that there will be no disturbances in the future, and I repeat that such disturbances should not occur.

Stanko Todorov's last words actually should reassure all Bulgarian people. This makes the irritation with which some of our colleagues reacted to Stanko Todorov's statement in the evening of 5 March at the National Assembly even less understandable. He said that the problem should be solved "without letting ourselves be influenced by the crowds outside. We should settle this problem in the interest of the entire population, and not in the interest of individual groups."

Let us not forget that we are Bulgarians, regardless of all political passions that may pervade our spirits!

Youth Roundtable Ends Session With Consensus

*AU1103195390 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Text] The youth roundtable, in whose work representatives of 23 youth groups throughout the country took part, ended on 11 March. The participants adopted by consensus a decision on forming state organs—a youth

parliament, a youth democratic forum, and a national youth council—that will defend the interests of the youth.

The necessity of forming a new mechanism for financing youth activity by the state was pointed out. The proposal to form a Ministry of Youth and Sports or a youth lobby in the parliament will be discussed at the next session of the youth roundtable, which will take place on 24 March.

Lilov on 'Peaceful Transition to Democracy'

*AU1103195790 Sofia BTA in English
1854 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[“A. Lilov: ‘I Believe in Democratic Socialism’”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—“I believe in the democratic socialism,” said tonight on national TV Mr Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council. For half an hour he answered the questions of viewers of the “Every Sunday” emission.

The BCP will doubtless have a new face: of a modern party, with sophisticated thinking, disposing of ideology and cadres, he said. “If we do not manage to have this, another leadership will come,” he added.

To the question whether the BCP will assume the armed course of struggle if it lost the elections, Mr Lilov answered smilingly: “I guarantee, that the party will accept the elections as they are. We stand for a peaceful transition to democracy.”

“Anything might happen in policy,” he said considering a possible faction in the BCP, and expressed convincingly that this will not happen, like it did not happen at the congress.

Lilov stressed that the peaceful transition to democracy can be guaranteed by “a correct, tolerant and responsible dialogue between all political forces.” We are looking objectively at the opposition, he said. It is young and we should have patience until it becomes mature.” He then stressed: “I wish that we have an active opposition, for the sake of the party, too, like the French opposition, or the Spanish one.”

As far as the chanting of slogans goes, Mr Lilov said one should get used to them, but that he personally cannot accept them. “They are sowing hatred and pushing society towards dangerous situations.”

Results of Political Opinion Poll Reported

*AU1003211190 Sofia BTA in English
1937 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—If elections take place now the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] will get most of the votes.

Such was the reply of 39 out of the 3,000 participants [as received] in a sociological survey, made by the National Centre for Public Opinion Survey at the National Assembly. The Union of Democratic Forces will get 15 per cent. This data was voiced on the TV tonight.

If there were direct elections for a head of state now, the polled would choose Petur Mladenov.

50 per cent of those polled backed the BCP. Most widely backed, however, is Ecoglasnost. According to the polled the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) is still not so popular. The Green Party and the Committee for Religious Rights Protection have good positions. Contradictory are the opinions about Podkrepa. The Alternative Socialist Party is not popular enough.

Dobri Dzhurov, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, Boyko Dimitrov continue to be the most popular political leaders. Lukanov has increased his rating by 14 points. The leaders of the opposition are collecting polar assessments.

"There is no political centre in the country," said in the commentary Andrey Raychev, director of the centre. He made the forecast that the political force which will assume the functions of a centre will become the winner. Asked about the way which Bulgaria should chose, 31 per cent named socialism, 4 per cent capitalism, while according to 68 per cent this division is artificial.

60 per cent stand for the formation of a coalition government, while only 12 per cent are against it.

46 per cent of the polled estimate as normal their standard of living, 7 per cent as good and 17 per cent can hardly make both ends meet.

Detailed results from the poll will be offered to RABOTNICHESKO DELO, ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME, and DEMOKRATSIYA.

Striking Teachers Hold Talks at Ministry

AU1103173490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 8 Mar 90 p 2

[Text] The convening of a national roundtable on education problems was discussed during negotiations between the teachers strike committee and the Ministry of National Education. The strike committee members will concern themselves with organizing the roundtable. The committee includes representatives of the Democratic Teachers Movement, whose chairman is Rumen Vulchev.

"The most important thing now is to build a modern system of education whose principles and structures should be protected against political interference," Rumen Vulchev said. "Other features of the desired system should be freedom of action, rejection of the totalitarian system, and casting off the state monopoly. It is also necessary to legislate for future cooperative and private educational initiatives."

"We expect that the roundtable's work will result in the drafting of a new national education bill," he said.

"All interested parties—independent teachers movements and organizations, trade union structures, and representatives of teachers, parents, and student teachers—will be invited to take part in the roundtable, which we propose should begin on 19 March," Rumen Vulchev stated. "We are also inviting the Ministry of National Education and the institutions responsible for ensuring the functioning of the education system."

Podkrepa Urges Interference in Miners Strike

AU0903145990 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] In connection with the 10-day miners strike from various mining enterprises in the country, the chairman of the Podkrepa Independent Trade Union Federation sent a letter to the State Council chairman insisting upon the personal interference of the state leader as mediator in the controversy between the miners and the government in order to halt the further escalation of the strike, and to avert further material damages and a further increase of tension.

Partial Agreement Reached

AU0903164690 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] A meeting of the working commission, appointed by the Council of Ministers, with representatives of the strikers' committee from the Trade Union Miners' Federation and the Podkrepa Independent Trade Union Federation took place today.

An agreement was reached on the temporary reduction of the length of the working day to seven hours in the (?Barevo) coal pit and to six hours in the Druzhba coal pit. The miners promised that the plans on coal and ore in the two aforementioned coal pits would not be affected during this experimental period.

The final decision on the duration of working hours for miners is expected to be adopted after the commission has completed its work.

Until this date, the miners should commit themselves to halting the real strikes. The two sides agreed that by the end of 12 March, the minister of industry and technology should appoint an experts commission, including representatives of the strikers committee, to conduct investigations based on tips in the ELAK mining-ore enterprise.

Miners on 'Token Strike'

AU0903222790 Sofia BTA in English
2102 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—Last night almost all third-shift miners went to work in the pits and the other production units of the economic mining and power development combine in the town of Bobovdol. This

morning only four workers of the first shift were absent and there were no people on strike in the second-shift team, announced the BTA correspondent in the region.

The strike which began early this month could have had serious consequences—all sections and pits could have become absolutely unfit for further exploitation because there was the danger of a spontaneous ignition of the coal layers and destruction of basic funds amounting to millions of leva's worth.

The miners went on strike because three of the demands mentioned in the preliminary agreement on the miners' demands reached on January 29 this year were not complied with.

The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) backed up the miners' demands and condemned the position of government which declared the initially signed protocol on the agreement invalid.

The Coordinating Council of the UDF called upon the miners in Bobovdol to go on a token strike to save the mine in which there is a danger of spontaneous ignition and prevent the destruction of equipment of millions of leva's worth.

This evening the spokesman of the Federal Council of the Miners' Trade Union Federation a member of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, made a declaration broadcast by the Bulgarian Television in which it is said that as a result of the efficient strike of the miners, on March 1 a governmental commission was set up on the instructions of Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to settle the labor conflict between the miners and the government.

As there may be accidents and fires in which the mining equipment will be lost and in order to avoid any conflicts among the workers themselves, the Federal Council made a decision that as of 24:00 hrs. on March 10 the strikers should be on a token strike until their working hours are reduced.

Poll on Young People's Political Attitudes

*AU2302205790 Sofia BTA in English
2002 GMT 23 Feb 90*

[Text] Sofia, February 23 (BTA)—One day before the Dimitrov Young Communist League opens its Extraordinary Congress, its daily newspaper NARODNA MLA-DEZH carries information on the political attitudes of

young Bulgarians, derived from the previously classified results of public opinion polls conducted by the research institute for youth problems from November 1986 through April 1989.

The percentage of respondents who spoke of a crisis in Bulgaria increased from 15 per cent in November 1987 to 35 per cent in October 1988. Undergraduates were the most skeptical about social stability: 75 per cent of the college students polled said they believed the country was on a downward slide. At a time when Todor Zhivkov was paying lip service to restructuring, one-third of the young people interviewed believed that virtually nothing was changing in society.

Judging by surveys in the late 80s, young people did believe for a long time that socialism creates better conditions to get the education of one's choice (79 per cent), to find a suitable job (87 per cent), and to have wealth fairly distributed (72 per cent). With the onslaught of the economic crisis these notions disappeared very soon. Communism receded from "mankind's tomorrow" to a remote ideal. Merely 10 per cent of those polled in 1988 saw it as a short-term prospect.

With every passing year, the administration of public affairs became ever more inaccessible to young people. In elective state bodies 60-year-olds and people under 40 were in a two-to-one proportion. Things were even worse because of the caste privileges of the top crust. The upper rungs of the hierarchical systems were off limits to the young.

The Dimitrov Young Communist League gradually changed from a youth organization into an organization exerting outside influence on youth, despite its formal protestations of independence. In 1987, 56 per cent of its members said that an increasing number of young people ignored its activity. Shortly before the league's 15th congress in 1987, merely 4 per cent of the respondents believed that young people as a whole trusted the Komsomol. Despite its democratization attempts, the youth organization never regained its dwindling prestige.

The poll results suggest why young people have been so easily susceptible to various political influences since November 10. The results were made available to bodies and institutions concerned with youth and youth problems. The poll takers say, however, that the main political obstacle was the lack of a consistent and sensible state policy towards youth.

Havel Discusses European Political Future

AU1103182690 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
10 Mar 90 p 7

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Manfred Schell; place and date not given]

[Text] [Schell] Mr. President, what is the purpose of your meeting with FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker in Prague on 13 March? What does 15 March 1990 mean when looking back on 15 March 1939?

[Havel] On 15 March, 51 years after Adolf Hitler, President Richard von Weizsaecker will visit Prague Castle. He is a democrat who undoubtedly enjoys great respect. We will discuss the history of relations between Germany and the CSSR, as well as the future. We also plan to give speeches at the castle.

Mr. Schell, this is not our first talk. We had met when I was "only" a playwright, when I was a dissident who was threatened with detention and reprisals, when it became known that I was to receive the peace prize of the German book industry. I am a playwright and an author. This is my past and my life's work so far. All of a sudden I became a politician. Others must judge whether I am a good politician. History will answer this question. However, in one aspect I have an advantage as a playwright in comparison with other politicians: I have an increased sensitivity for historic dates and symbols. This is my answer to your question.

[Schell] How should Czechs, Slovaks, and Germans treat each other in the future?

[Havel] They should be peaceful. This is the most important thing. And they should treat each other with respect. What I want are friendly relations between our peoples. I am convinced that the visit by the FRG president will be conducive to this goal.

[Schell] German unification is at the center of world politics. It has led to considerable controversies. What is your position?

[Havel] I commented on this issue in the U.S. Congress, in the Polish Sejm, and on other occasions. The Germans have a right to unification. However, I hope that this will not create any complications for the unity of Europe. A united Germany should become the driving force of the European process of unification.

I am not afraid of a united Germany because I am convinced that it will be democratic and peace-loving, that it sees its future in Europe, and that radical forces will not stand a chance there. However, I also understand that others who are more directly affected by German unification than the CSSR think differently.

[Schell] Did the discussion over Poland's western border irritate you?

[Havel] I absolutely understand Poland's anxiety concerning the security of its western border. Fortunately,

the CSSR does not have such a problem. As far as I know, nobody in the GDR and the FRG has ever challenged our borders. However, this does not mean that we do not understand the worries of the Poles. I regret this discussion. I admit this frankly. Also, I consider it a sad coincidence of history that the unification process takes place during an election campaign—an election campaign in the GDR and the FRG. Unfortunately, this makes a few things much more complicated.

[Schell] Poland will put forth reparation claims to a united Germany. Must we prepare ourselves for such claims from the CSSR as well?

[Havel] This topic has so far not been raised in the CSSR. I do not know of such considerations.

[Schell] Before you paid your first visit to Moscow, you stated that you would neither flatter anybody nor receive orders. After your talks in the Kremlin, you spoke of a "new quality" of relations with the Soviet Union. How would you define this "new quality?"

[Havel] Let me first answer with the example of an enterprise. Equal and friendly relations hardly ever develop between the boss and his employees. Now we have become equal partners in our relations with the Soviet Union. The statement that was signed during my visit to Moscow testifies to this. There is no longer a boss and his employees. This new fact opens up prospects for real friendship between our two countries.

[Schell] What about the neuralgic point of 1968—the crushing of the Prague Spring?

[Havel] The Soviet Union has officially apologized. This apology does exist, and it is of truly great significance. An agreement has been concluded on the withdrawal of Soviet soldiers from the CSSR. Thus, the incident is becoming history. What is important now is a joint future. We will always remember the past, but it will no longer dominate life.

[Schell] When will the last Soviet soldier leave the CSSR?

[Havel] According to the agreement that was signed in Moscow, this will happen on 30 June 1991. However, on the basis of a verbal agreement with Mr. Gorbachev, it is quite possible that the last Soviet soldier will leave my country as early as on 26 February of next year, which would be exactly one year after the agreement on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops was signed. One day after the last Soviet soldier will have left the CSSR, Rostropovich will start a tour of the CSSR.

He will charge no salary for his performance. I discussed this with him. When then Soviet Culture Minister Mrs. Furtseva asked him to tour the CSSR and give concerts there after the occupation, he replied that he would travel to the CSSR the day after the last Soviet soldier leaves the country. It does not depend on him or me whether he will start his tour on 27 February or 1 July

1991. However, the tour, to which we are looking forward, will take place in any case.

[Schell] Mr. President, you first saw Gorbachev during his visit to Prague in 1988. You were a civil rights activist at the time. What memories, what picture do you have of this man?

[Havel] I am quite willing to talk about this, also to prevent legends from forming. It happened like this: I was walking the dog in the evening along the Moldau. I saw a great number of limousines and policemen in the vicinity of the national theater. Being a curious person, I went there to see what was going on. People made way for me. Shortly afterward, Gorbachev walked past me at one meter's distance. He waved to the masses, got into his car, and drove off. I wrote an article about this. Now, during my visit to Moscow, I told Gorbachev this story. He told me that he did not feel well in Prague at the time. The atmosphere—he was probably talking about the political atmosphere—was stuffy. He also felt the hope that the people were linked with him. He noted the dissatisfaction of the people with the old leadership of the CSSR. After this talk in Moscow, I drew the conclusion that he understood the situation in the CSSR very well in 1988.

[Schell] Fairy tales in which the people's imagination finally helps justice win in the end usually end like your story. You finally reached the highest office in the CSSR. Did the playwright Vaclav Havel become a politician against his will?

[Havel] Yes, I never wanted to be a politician. I have always considered myself and still consider myself to be mainly a playwright. However, I have also had a strong sense of responsibility all my life. It forces me to place the interests of the people and of society above my personal interests. The political will of the masses pushed me into the president's office. I had no choice.

[Schell] What is the aim of your presidency, which is limited to the middle of 1990?

[Havel] When I became president, I promised that I would be the guarantor of a really peaceful path toward the first really democratic elections in 42 years. This is the main goal of my presidency. I decided to improve the tarnished prestige of the CSSR in the international arena and to improve the image of the president's office at the same time.

[Schell] Do you see yourself as the president of a short transition period, or will you again be at the disposal of a newly elected parliament?

[Havel] I would prefer to relinquish the position after the elections. However, if I seem to be the only possible solution, if I should be nominated and elected, I will be at the people's disposal.

[Schell] Why did you insist on the nomination of Alexander Dubcek as chairman of the parliament? Did you feel obliged to contribute to the rehabilitation of this man?

[Havel] Alexander Dubcek is the best-known representative of the Slovak people with whom we Czechs live together in one state. It was only logical for him to get such a significant position under the new conditions. It is all the better, if this also contributes to the personal rehabilitation of Dubcek.

[Schell] I have the impression that politically you have nothing essentially in common with Dubcek. He wants "socialism with a human face," maybe as a third way, which, however, has not been successful anywhere so far. What forms and structures must dominate in the sphere of politics and the economy in the CSSR so that a new beginning will be possible?

[Havel] "Socialism with a human face" was a program that corresponded to the atmosphere and the existing possibilities of our country at the end of the sixties. Today we have to set different priorities. We are trying to establish a truly democratic society. This is our first political priority. In the sphere of economic policy, we rely on the mechanisms of the market.

[Schell] "We want to live in truth." I read this slogan in Wenceslas Square during the days of the peaceful revolution at the end of November 1989. What is this truth like?

[Havel] This is a difficult question. One arrives at the truth by overcoming conflicts. Living in the truth does not mean achieving an ideal state. This requires a continuing process of search. We have made progress since November 1989 in our search. What I said about the political atmosphere in the CSSR and the dominating factors in our new economic policy is a result of this search. However, we still have a long way to go.

[Schell] Under your predecessor Husak, you had to spend five years in prison. Did he have the courage to speak about this when you assumed office?

[Havel] We did not meet personally.

[Schell] Romania's Ceausescu was executed, Bulgaria's Zhivkov has been arrested, and the GDR's Honecker is facing criminal charges. What will happen to Husak and other former officials?

[Havel] We are not striving for revenge. We are opposed to violence. If somebody grossly violated the laws, the laws should be investigated and assessed by an independent court.

[Schell] Despite the humiliations that you suffered over the years, you did not leave your country because you were afraid that the Communists would not allow you to return. What do you think of intellectuals who chose to emigrate?

[Havel] Everybody must make his own decision. Everybody has his own problems. It is not my task to judge the decisions of others.

[Schell] Do you think that Ota Sik and Pavel Kohout, or others, should return to the CSSR?

[Havel] In my speech to compatriots in Toronto, Canada, I stated that every Czech living in exile can decide whether he wants to return to the CSSR or whether he wants to keep the new citizenship that he has obtained since and stay in his new home country. This also applies to my friends Pavel Kohout, Ota Sik, and others. However, I think that it is no longer of such significance where somebody is living now and what citizenship he is holding. The important thing is what he does.

[Schell] The year 1989 has seen historic changes between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. Stalin's postwar order has been shaken. What order must be established now that Stalin's shadow is vanishing?

[Havel] An order must be established and prevail in which every state can decide freely how it wants to regulate its internal affairs. This also applies to relations with other countries. This new order should replace conditions that were created as a result of World War II. Tutelage and dependence belong to the past. Freedom and the right to self-determination prevail now. This will also lead to a higher degree of integration in Europe. I am positive about this.

[Schell] After the 1917 October Revolution, the world revolution was to have been transported to the great industrial countries of the West. Can one say today that communism has miserably failed everywhere?

[Havel] The communist-type totalitarian system has exhausted all its possibilities and has failed as a matter of fact. This is the truth.

[Schell] What do you think this means for the Soviet Union, for the self-concept of this superpower?

[Havel] The Soviet Union is not only the bearer of communist ideology but also a living community with different ethnic groups and cultural traditions. If the Soviet Union succeeds in solving its internal problems in a democratic way, there will be no reason to speak of a loss of face. The Soviet Union can only win.

[Schell] Do you think that Gorbachev's efforts to create a modern society with transparency and free communication are compatible with the CPSU's claim to leadership?

[Havel] I find remarkable both his willingness to constantly correct his views and his rejection of those who do not understand reality and are not ready to make compromises. However, it is very difficult to interpret Gorbachev's attitude on various issues.

[Schell] Are NATO and the Warsaw Pact still needed, in the military and political sense?

[Havel] NATO and the Warsaw Pact are faced with the task of reconsidering and redefining their roles. Their military significance is decreasing in light of recent events. They are turning into political organizations. If the countries that participate in the Helsinki process reach agreement on a new European system, NATO and the Warsaw Pact will probably be integrated in this system and will dissolve, at least as independent organizations.

[Schell] What will become of CEMA? What is the CSSR's position toward the EC? Is it conceivable that the CSSR will one day become a member of the EC?

[Havel] The CSSR will return to Europe. We will apply for membership in the European political and economic institutions. It is also possible that the institutions themselves will undergo changes in this process of European transformation. The CSSR belongs to Europe; its future lies here. This is irreversible.

Havel in West Bohemia; Comments on Elections

*LD100322290 Prague CTK in English 1620 GMT
10 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel visited today three large towns of the West Bohemian region—Sokolov, Cheb and Karlovy Vary.

During his stay in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia's well-known spa, Vaclav Havel visited the Moser glass-works and its art centre and cutting room where he met with master cutter Ivan Chalupka who was just working on a gift for Pope John Paul II to be handed over to him during his visit to Czechoslovakia in April. Vaclav Havel asked him whether he had ever made any vases for Fidel Castro or Leonid Brezhnev. Ivan Chalupka answered: "I haven't made any vase for Castro but I have cut a nice one for Brezhnev, there were boars and Brezhnev's initials on it."

Vaclav Havel further asked what could be done for the works to increase its productivity. Ivan Chalupka stated that in his opinion the works should not be much more productive. "It should rather be small so that its products are more precious. It is sad that it also turns out products of poor taste."

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel greeted a gathering of the inhabitants of Cheb later in the day.

He stated that in his opinion, the forthcoming elections will be only a kind of a general test. Our society must ripen and politically crystalize for the real elections. A huge number of new political parties are emerging these days which is natural since for too many years there was just one party. However, the spectrum of major political forces will gradually stabilize and new political personalities will appear. This should happen within two years,

Vaclav Havel said adding that it would be good if people could distinguish careerists from those with pure intentions. He also called on the public to point out that there are more important things than personal interests and interests of only one group or party. It is the interests of the entire country that are at stake, he said.

Slovak Premier Cic Ends Communist Affiliation

*LD1103194390 Prague Television Service
in Slovak 1830 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Text] Slovak Government Premier Milan Cic summarized the political and economic development in Slovakia in a 10 March appearance on Slovak television.

He commented on the most important tasks of the Slovak Government and on its concept, above all, regarding the attitude toward national minorities. He also spoke about other problems.

He concluded by expressing his decision to end his political affiliation with the Czechoslovak Communist Party. He asked his fellow citizens not to link this step with careerist interests or motives.

As the premier of the Government of the National Consensus of the Slovak Republic, I wish to lead this government through the complicated preelection period, through all the pitfalls toward a pluralistic democratic society, said Milan Cic.

Cic Addresses Government on Minority Rights

*AU1103172990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
6 Mar 90 p 4*

[Extract from a speech by Slovak Premier Milan Cic at a working session of the Slovak Government in Komarno on 5 March: "Mutual Respect and an Endeavor for Understanding and Tolerance"]

[Text] In all civilized states, the status of members of ethnic minorities is protected by constitutional means. Our government also proceeds from the premise that members of the Hungarian and Ruthenian-Ukrainian ethnic minorities have the same equal rights as all other citizens in our country. Moreover, they also enjoy other specific rights pertaining to members of ethnic minorities. Constitutional Law No. 144/1968 exemplifies our republic not only as a joint Czech and Slovak state; our state also belongs to the ethnic minorities who live in our territory. Therefore, the Constitution guarantees Hungarian, Polish, German, and the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) ethnic minorities indiscriminate development. It requires that ethnic minorities be—proportionate to their numbers—represented in electoral organs, first and foremost in the Federal Assembly, in the national councils, and in the national committees. The Constitution also guarantees these ethnic minorities the right to cultural development, the right to speak their own language during official contact in regions inhabited by the appropriate ethnic minority, the right to associate in

national cultural and social organizations, and the right to publish newspapers and information in the ethnic minority's language.

The Slovak Republic Government considers itself to be not only the executor but also the guarantor of our Constitution. True to its principles, the government considers citizens' freedom, equal rights, and fraternal coexistence to be the primary canon in executing state power. From the point of view of this canon, it is also endeavoring to guarantee harmonious coexistence between the nations and nationalities which inhabit Czechoslovak territory.

Education in Ethnically Mixed Regions

One of the most sensitive issues apropos citizens' coexistence in ethnically mixed regions is the problem of education. More than 15,000 children attend Hungarian-language kindergartens. Apart from this, approximately 6,000 ethnic Hungarian children attend Slovak language kindergartens. More than 65,000 ethnic Hungarian pupils attend primary schools; almost 17,000 of them go to Slovak schools. The reason for this is the population's migration to larger towns and communities where, for various reasons, some parents do not request an education for their children in their native language.

Of the 4,572 ethnic Hungarian high school students, 3,500 of them attend Hungarian schools. More than 4,000 pupils attend secondary vocational schools. A total of 13,711 ethnic Hungarian pupils attend secondary commercial and technical schools. Thirty-four and a half percent of the overall number of ethnic Hungarian pupils have an opportunity to prepare for employment in their native language. A total of 48,543 students study at universities and colleges; of this number, 4.9 percent belong to the Hungarian ethnic minority and 0.8 percent belong to the Ukrainian ethnic minority.

The foundation for Hungarian ethnic culture in Slovakia is CSEMADOK—Hungarian People in Czechoslovakia Cultural Union—the Hungarian regional theater, and more than 300 artistic ensembles and special interest cultural clubs. Nineteen newspapers and magazines with a press run of more than 500,000 copies are published in Hungarian. The Madach publishing house publishes 50 books per annum; half of these are from original Hungarian literature.

These facts reveal that considerable material, financial, and especially human potential has been created for the educational and cultural development of the Hungarian ethnic minority. This is also reflected in the economic districts of southern Slovakia. Agricultural enterprises in the Dunajska Streda, Komarno, Galanta, and Nove Zamky Districts are among the best in Slovakia. In these and other southern Slovak districts industry has also duly developed. Despite the favorable development of educational, cultural, and economic indices, ethnic tensions and conflicts also occur here. It is necessary to look for their causes not only in the economic sphere, but also in other spheres.

A Legacy of Unresolved Problems

The Slovak Republic Government has inherited many unresolved and unnecessarily complicated problems from the past. One of these problems was the awkward method of dealing with old misunderstandings and disputes. These arose as a consequence of a long-term erroneous policy that distorted not only the nationalities' coexistence but also the principle of equality between the Czech and Slovak nations. Throughout the past 20 years, this policy not only did not recognize, but directly thwarted, the activity of the Slovak Heritage Foundation in mixed regions and, thus, the problem of equality between nations and ethnic minorities became focused on economic perspectives. An insufficient and ambiguous legal definition of the rights and obligations of members of ethnic minorities ensued from this oversimplification.

The 1968 Constitutional Law certainly established prerequisites for successfully resolving nationality issues. But after this hopeful spring was suppressed, all citizens began to suffer from a lack of democracy. Even the aforementioned Constitutional Law began to waste away from a lack of democracy. This should have been brought to life by individual Federal Assembly and national government laws that should have defined a whole series of citizens' rights and obligations. Among them should have been the right to education in an ethnic language, the right to indiscriminate cultural development, the right to speak an ethnic language during official contact, the right to associate, and the right to publish newspapers and information in ethnic languages. Unfortunately, this detailed and specific legal amendment has not been implemented to this day. This very ambiguity is fertile ground for many of the misunderstandings on both sides. A high-handed explanation of rights and obligations always leads to anarchy. But in nationality issues, where it is necessary to proceed with great sensitivity and tolerance, this can lead to emotional outbursts and to conflicts that are difficult to resolve.

If relations between Czechs and Slovaks suffered from a lack of democracy, then this was also felt by the ethnic minorities.

Nationality policy was reduced to an oversimplified repetition of various slogans. The idea of proletarian internationalism was too meaningless, even unworthy. The rights of ethnic minorities, enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act and in the final document from the Vienna followup meeting, were borne in mind very unwillingly by totalitarian power. Therefore, one cannot be surprised that the ethnic minorities' cultural institutions—especially CSEADOK—when asserting their rights, began to appeal for assistance from states where the democratization process had started sooner than in our country. Members of the Hungarian ethnic minority opened themselves to the world, with assistance from the Hungarian Republic's mass media, with the intention of vying for the protection, and even for the preservation, of their identity in the Western world. All methods were

useful in the struggle against rigid and dogmatic political power. They acknowledged various militant "isms", especially irredentism, and negated everything that was done in our country for the Hungarian ethnic minority in the social and economic spheres. This, inevitably, led to an adverse reaction from the Slovak population, to mutual suspicion, to recriminations, and to the tendentious explanation of our nations' and the Hungarian nations' common history.

The culture of tolerance began to degenerate into a "culture" of national malice. Opinions even began to be expressed that cast doubts on the validity of our current southern borders. We have to adopt an unequivocal point of view on this issue. Every citizen of our country, regardless of which nationality he belongs to, has a duty to defend the inviolability of our borders. This is in the interest of understanding and desirable coexistence between Czechoslovakia and the Republic of Hungary. We are against nationalistic pressure and we are against alienating people from their national heritage. However, casting any kinds of doubts on the borders plays into the hands of those who want to whip up malice. Therefore, we are very concerned about harmonious coexistence and about all our citizens' adhering to their constitutional obligations.

Badly prepared, tendentious, and poorly formulated programs on Hungarian television and radio, as well as our own, contributed toward arousing civil intolerance. Attempts were made to resolve the issue of our nations' and nationalities' coexistence in an unqualified and emotive manner.

If all the principles for a humane and democratic life in society are fully implemented, then it will be possible to develop citizens' mutual coexistence—as well as the ethnic minorities' lives—on the principles of a valid constitutional law. Although in other issues our national government recognizes the principle of reciprocity, it has no intention of resolving the nationality question on this basis. In this sphere we much prefer the principles of citizens' equal rights, democracy, humanism, freedom, equality, and brotherhood.

A guarantee of the implementation of citizens' inalienable rights and obligations in a multinationality state is provided by the principles of state sovereignty and independence. Therefore, we want to grant ethnic minorities full rights, despite the fact that the nations from which they are descended are not close to granting the Slovak minority as many rights as we in Czechoslovakia are granting them. In some secondary schools—those defined, for example, in the Hungarian Republic as Slovak—the Slovak language is taught only in Slovak. However, we see a solution to this "unreciprocal" situation in activating our foreign policy and in taking effective diplomatic steps. In no way will we do this by seeking recourse in reciprocity. We have no intention of abusing an issue as sensitive as the right of every Czechoslovak citizen to speak the language of his own

nationality. In regions where the majority of the population belongs to other nationalities, however, we are faced with the task of defining bilingualism, something which is supposed to apply in the state apparatus and in economic life. Even here it is necessary to thoroughly implement the principle that every civil right corresponds to a civil duty.

New Democratic Contents for Constitutional Guarantees

The Slovak Republic Government holds the view that in the future Czechoslovak constitution, as well as in the future Slovak Republic constitution, we can—and should—proceed from the law to date for protecting the status of ethnic minorities and enhance it by new comments and suggestions. However, it will be particularly essential to specify its principles in current legislation. It is necessary to infuse new democratic, humanist, and pluralist contents into this legal form. However, it would certainly be unwise if we did not take the constitutional solution—which is one of the most progressive ones we know—as the basis and attempted to establish a completely new and unproved model. A proven valid basis, empowered by new democratic contents, will fully enable members of ethnic minorities living in our country to regard our new Czechoslovak Republic as their real home, as the common home in which they were born and in which they live.

The absolute majority of ethnic Hungarians and Ukrainians regard the Czechoslovak motherland as their real home. Therefore, the ethnic minorities' cultural unions—CSEMADOK and the Union of Ruthenian-Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia—condemn all irredentist manifestations and unequivocally acknowledge the coexistence between our nations and nationalities in a common Czechoslovak homeland.

At the same time, and no less urgently, we are asking for help from the renewed Slovak Heritage Foundation. Quality cultural work should convince people that the Hungarian and Ukrainian (Ruthenian) ethnic minority living in southern and eastern Slovakia have had the right of domicile on this territory for a long time. They were born here and entire generations of their predecessors died here. Together with the Slovak nation they enriched the Austro-Hungarian civilization by their many examples of national and religious tolerance. Enhancing this tradition and culture to benefit the development of their homeland is, therefore, not only the inalienable right of the nationalities but also their fundamental civil duty.

Distancing Ourselves From Provocation and Demagogy

We are integrating ourselves into Europe with our heads held high, without prejudices and hatred, but with typical Slovak tolerance and hospitality. We have begun to successfully overcome and remove barriers within ourselves and among ourselves. Therefore, I appeal to all Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, and all ethnic groups living in the Slovak Republic: In a spirit of mutual trust and, first and foremost, of patriotic

Czechoslovak coexistence, unequivocally condemn nationalistic manifestations and distance yourselves from all forms of provocation and demagogy. Our task is mutual respect and understanding, the endeavor to seek a common roundtable, and the attempt to seek understanding and tolerance. The Slovak Republic Government wants this and will create all the prerequisites necessary for this in the following way:

1. In the ethnic minority education sphere, it will instruct national committees to proceed very carefully and sensitively in ethnically mixed regions and not to place territorial and economic aspects before pedagogical and political aspects when considering parents' demands. The Slovak Government will demand from the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training [MSMTV] that by improving the quality of education results and by intensifying pupils' preparation for a career of their choice, it will heighten the interest of young people from ethnic minorities in completing their education by gaining a high school certificate. According to an analysis carried out by the Slovak Republic MSMTV, schools teaching in Hungarian will require more than 2,000 teachers by the year 2010. This prognosis has prompted a proposal by the District National Committee and the Municipal District National Committee in Komarno—supported by civic initiatives and by expert groups from 15 southern Slovak districts—to establish a Hungarian university in Komarno or an annex to the pedagogical faculty in Nitra. The issue surrounding the establishment of a university will be considered by experts and our Ministry of Education will adopt a point of view on it.

2. In the cultural sphere it is necessary to annul incorrect bureaucratic decisions and to intensify the scientific view of mutual relations between Slovaks and national, that is, ethnic groups.

The entire philosophical orientation of ethnic culture needs to be analyzed seriously and a systematic enquiry needs to be carried out into relations between Slovaks—and, if appropriate, between Czechs—and the nationalities and ethnic groups in the new Czechoslovakia. Naturally, together with our neighbors, it will be necessary to greatly emphasize the common traditions that exist between the Slovak, Hungarian, and Ruthenian peoples. We must place greater emphasis on what united us in the past. At the same time, it will be necessary to try to forget episodes involving unnecessary disputes and conflicts.

In this spirit it is necessary:

- a) to completely resolve the Madach publishing house's editorial policy and that of the Ukrainian section of the pedagogical publishing house in Presov; the contents and number of magazines and newspapers published in ethnic languages should be optimized;
- b) to deal with the procurement and cultural activity policy of regional museums;

c) to reshape cultural festivals so that they make possible a greater awareness of the common traditions of our nations and ethnic minorities living in Slovakia;

d) to enhance, through the medium of cultural agreements, the community of Central European nations by mutually recognizing and developing our past cultural legacy;

e) to orient television and radio toward objectively reporting the real national and ethnic minority situation in our country.

Economic Development in Southern Districts

The economy of the regions, as well as that of the state, can only prosper if it is based on a democratic political system and on a functioning market. Citizens' parallel spiritual and political development is essential for this; we also require various forms of enterprise to be developed. This means granting equal rights to all kinds of ownership, including private ownership. Therefore, throughout our state's territory, the government will support the establishment of small and medium-sized enterprises, cooperatives, and collectives in towns and communities.

At the same time, the government is creating conditions for the broader participation of foreign capital in modernizing and restructuring the enterprises that may be involved in this.

The social problem surrounding the construction of the Danube water project has recently become a characteristic trait of the economy in southern Slovak districts. This problem had long ago taken on nationwide and Central European dimensions. It is envisioned that before the end of this March the first results of the mixed commission's expert opinion will be known; the public will be informed about them.

The government considers the speedy implementation of an ecological program to be one of its most important tasks.

Industrial development in organizations managed by the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and the Electrotechnical Industry is being guaranteed within the framework of the ZTS [Heavy Machine Tool Enterprises], ZVL [Ball Bearing Plant], Elektrosvit, Tesla, and Liaz enterprises. All plants will have to modernize their manufacturing and organizational structure. In enterprises managed by Slovak organs, plans are under preparation for the gradual reconstruction and modernization of plants and operations in southern Slovakia.

As far as the regional development of southern and eastern Slovakia is concerned, the government will proceed from an analysis of demographic and economic trends and connections in individual districts.

How To Gain Entry to the European Home

By resolving economic and social problems, peoples' lives will improve. At the same time, an undesirable social and political climate is being forestalled.

We must thoroughly implement the humane principle of responsibility when dealing with the problems of ethnic coexistence. This must be on both sides! If, in relation to nations and ethnic minorities, we condemn collective responsibility as a category that is contrary to humanism, then, we reject tantamount collective irresponsibility when resolving ethnic tensions and conflicts. No one has a right to present himself only in a martyr's role and to encourage strife. An individual does not only have the right to make demands; he must also contribute, display sincere goodwill, and take responsibility on himself. It is necessary to respect the principles of human coexistence and responsibility for the further development of our common homeland!

We want to integrate ourselves into a Europe that is not divided by borders. Therefore, first of all, we have to demolish our own internal barriers—barriers built up by ethnic intolerance and strife. We want to coordinate our return with everyone, but especially with our neighbors. We are resolved to enter the European home as consolidated masters whose own threshold has been swept clean. Therefore, we would be very unhappy if someone wanted to foul it again with old rubbish that has long been consigned to history's trash can.

Magyar Workers' Group Ends Congress

*LD1003223590 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] The extraordinary, two-day congress of CSE-MADOK [Cultural Association of Magyar Workers in Czechoslovakia; Csehszlovakiai Magyar Dolgozok Kultúregyesülete] has ended. Evelyn Forro reports from Bratislava.

[Forro] The entire leadership of CSEMADOK was reelected at the two-day extraordinary congress in Bratislava. Accordingly, the president is Zoltan Sido; the two associate presidents are Rezso Szabo, jurist, and Laszlo Dobos, writer; the general secretary is still Sandor Neszmeri. Positions in the 81-member board were given to Miklos Duray, as well as to Sandor Varga, first deputy chairman of the Slovak Government. The abbreviation for CSEMADOK will remain, but the name is new: Democratic Association of Magyars in Czechoslovakia [Csehszlovakiai Magyarok Demokratikus Szövetsege].

Romanies Establish Civic Initiative

*LD1003225590 Prague CTK in English 1931 GMT
10 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—The Roms' [Romanies] Civic Initiative was established at its founding congress here today.

It is a political party proclaiming no ideology and associating citizens regardless of their belief and nationality. It is based on the principles of equality, freedom and humanity. It will participate in the elections together with the party of the Democratic Union of Roms in Slovakia.

Present at the congress was the Czechoslovak president's adviser Vera Caslavská who read a greeting letter from President Vaclav Havel.

Emil Scuka was elected chairman of the Roms' Civic Initiative.

Soviet Troops Scheduled To Vacate South Bohemia

*LD0903210190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1200 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Summary] According to the schedule of Soviet troops' withdrawal from Czechoslovakia, a section of the garrison from Boletice in the South Bohemian Region was due to leave by the end of this week. Our correspondent (Jiri Jisa) says that altogether 60 conscripts and 11 officials plus their equipment are due to depart from Boletice for the Soviet Union on Sunday, 11 March. The remaining part of this communications unit, amounting to 35 conscripts and 10 officials, are to remain in Boletice for the time being and the date of their departure, which could be as early as this year, will be determined by their commanding officer from the Soviet garrison in Bohdanec near Pardubice. I also found out from Lieutenant Colonel (Stefan Macar), chief of the military district office in Boletice, that as of a month ago a group of specialists was working in this locality. The group discussed the ecological situation both in the Soviet garrison and its surroundings. They found no defects of a serious nature. The military facilities and two housing blocks will serve the Czechoslovak army after the Soviet troops' departure.

Tanks Withdrawing From Krnov

*LD1003152490 Prague CTK in English 1353 GMT
10 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—The first Soviet tanks started to withdraw from the North Moravian town of Krnov early today. The first train with 30 Soviet tanks will set off for the Soviet Union this evening to be followed by the second one after midnight.

Another ten trains with Soviet military equipment will be dispatched in the following days. The last transport is to leave the town on March 26.

There will be a total of 197 vacant flats in Krnov after the withdrawal of Soviet forces and their families.

Calfa Tours Delayed Petrochemical Project

*LD0903130190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1200 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] During the second day of his working visit to Bratislava, Federal Premier Marian Calfa toured the petrochemical concern Slovnaft. He was interested first of all in the completion work for the construction of the hydrokrak complex, which is at present more than a year behind schedule because of delays in supplies of key technological equipment. The biggest problem is the eradication of leaks in heat-exchange units and high-pressure pipes.

The workers drew Marian Calfa's attention to the problem of afternoon and night shift bonuses, which has not yet been resolved by the enterprise management. Marian Calfa then had roundtable talks with the key suppliers of the project.

Calfa Meets Comenius University Staff, Students

*LD0903204890 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1100 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Summary] Marian Calfa, who is in Bratislava today, visited the faculty of Law of Comenius University. Accompanied by Jan Carnogursky and Milan Cic, he attended a meeting of its teachers and students.

"When speaking about university studies Marian Calfa expressed his personal view that he would prefer to see admission tests abolished. It seems he said that the technical conditions at our institutes of higher learning will not make it possible this year, but we have to decide whether to give preference to the social background of students or to give everyone a chance to study. He and Mr. Cic reported on the favorable trend of development in the contacts with institutes of higher learning abroad which are interested in taking in our students and teachers or sending us their lecturers. We will describe specific conclusions of Premier Calfa's morning discussion with the students and staff of the Faculty of Law and Comenius University in the radio news bulletin [1730 GMT].

"The next point on Marian Calfa's agenda is a meeting in the Slovak government building where we have our reporter. The meeting has not started yet and when it does Maria Pospisilova, our reporter, will inform you about it."

Calfa, Slovakia's Cic on Cooperation Talks

*LD0903211390 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1100 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] About 10 minutes ago Premier Calfa and his entourage came to the Slovak Socialist Republic government building. A working lunch started behind closed doors. As its agenda is still

unknown to journalists on the way upstairs, I asked Premier Calfa two questions: What will be the topic of the talks?

[Calfa] We do not have a set agenda but we will certainly find common topics which we will discuss. Unfortunately we never have enough time for these discussions.

[Correspondent] What is the cooperation between the Slovak and federal government? Are there any conflicts, and if yes, what about?

[Calfa] Cooperation is excellent. Naturally we have different views on various topics but it would not be natural if we did not. We all say what we think and it is up to us to find a common solution. So far I feel that we find solutions when we look for them. We always find them.

[Correspondent] Thank you. Now, Premier Cic what would you like to talk about with the federal government at this lunch?

[Cic] We are glad that Premier Calfa came to Slovakia to get to learn the problems here which interest the entire Czechoslovak Republic and the entire government. At this lunch we want to discuss issues which are in our government's jurisdiction, yet we deal with all issues in a certain synchronization of all Czechoslovakia's problems.

I think this meeting will be useful for the entire government because usually I meet with him personally at the federal government. Today I will try not to talk and let the other members of the government speak because I say enough at the federal government session.

Hungarian Premier Writes Calfa on Dam Project

LD0903131690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
2100 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Laszlo Udvari, the Hungarian Government commissioner for the construction of the Hungarian phase of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of dams on the Danube, has reported in Budapest on a letter sent by Premier Nemeth to Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa. In the letter, Hungary proposes that talks should not take place on altering the agreement of 30 November last year, which was a compromise made necessary by the circumstances at the time. The commissioning of the power station at Gabcikovo should depend on joint comprehensive environmental research, with the participation of international experts.

The Hungarian premier went on to propose that Czechoslovakia should halt construction work at Gabcikovo. On the question of Nagymaros, the Hungarian view remains unchanged: Budapest insists on a definite halt to construction.

Dubcek, Mock Favor 'Friendly Relations'

LD0803234190 Prague CTK in English 1625 GMT
8 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 8 (CTK)—Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek acquainted here today Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock with the present situation in Czechoslovakia and with the activity of the Czechoslovak parliament, mainly with legislative processes ensuring the irreversibility of the democratic development of society.

Alexander Dubcek and Alois Mock expressed the interest in developing the two countries' good neighbourly relations that can reach a substantially higher level in their opinion.

Austrian Minister Alois Mock was received by Prague Mayor Jaroslav Koran who emphasized in his welcoming speech that the two countries' nations lived for centuries in one state and have behind themselves a long journey together through history. At present they have much more in common than their neighbourhood, which gives them the hope for friendly relations in the conditions of the new European home.

Then the Austrian representative inspected a building in Snemovni Street in the lesser town in Prague that was offered by the Prague City National Committee for the establishment of an Austrian cultural and information centre.

Earlier today, Alois Mock with his wife and entourage was received by Archbishop of Prague Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek. The cardinal and the minister stressed the significance of new hopes and possibilities that are offered by the development in Czechoslovakia for the two countries' relations as well as for the whole of Europe.

In the afternoon, the Austrian guests left Prague for Bratislava.

Talks With Havel

LD0803234590 Prague CTK in English 1910 GMT
8 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today thanked Minister Mock for having been the first foreign minister to meet with him at a time when Vaclav Havel was a dissident.

The talks between the two representatives here today focused on questions concerning the changes in Central and Eastern Europe and Czechoslovak-Austrian relations.

Vaclav Havel said that their main joint task is to coordinate a return of East European countries to Europe as well as to consider what Europe these countries are to return to. Alois Mock accepted the invitation to attend a meeting of representatives of Central European countries in Bratislava in April.

Irish Foreign Minister Visiting Prague**Cooperation With EC on Agenda***LD0903232890 Prague CTK in English 2207 GMT
9 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 9 (CTK)—Irish Foreign Minister Gerry Collins arrived here tonight for a two-day official visit to Czechoslovakia, held at the invitation of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

During his stay, Gerry Collins, who is this year's president of the European Community Commission, will also be discussing a major extension of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the E.C.

After the establishment of official relations between the EEC and the CEMA, Czechoslovakia signed an agreement with the European Community on trade in industrial goods. Now it is preparing to discuss the content of a new and extensive agreement on economic and trade cooperation. The agreement will encompass a whole number of areas of mutual interest: industry, agriculture, training of specialists, the safety of nuclear plants, the environment, transport, communications and tourism. Also on the agenda will be the possibility of an agreement on political cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the E.C.

The visit by Irish Foreign Minister Gerry Collins is the first bilateral contact between Czechoslovakia and Ireland at foreign minister level since the establishment of diplomatic relations shortly after the First World War.

Although bilateral relations were restored at ambassadorial level in 1975 (Ireland having broken them off in 1950), contacts between the two countries have stagnated. It has taken the present democratic changes in Czechoslovak society to enable the present upswing in bilateral relations, exemplified by Gerry Collins visit to Czechoslovakia.

Trade between the two countries which has had no conventional basis since 1974 when Ireland joined the European Economic Community, is on the increase. The mutual volume of trade amounted to 32.5 million dollars in 1989, while Czechoslovak imports (17.5 million dollars) stand at about three times what they were in 1985. Czechoslovakia's exports to Ireland consist mainly of tractors and tractor-parts, textiles and rubber tyres. Irish exports to Czechoslovakia consist chiefly of untreated skins (about 60 per cent of the total), sea fish, and semi-finished fruit and vegetable products.

Received by Dienstbier*LD1003141190 Prague CTK in English 1232 GMT
10 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—Irish Foreign Minister and current president of the Council of the European Communities Gerard Collins, now on an official visit to

Czechoslovakia, met here today with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

They discussed a range of questions linked to the extension of cooperation and mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the European Communities. The prior task of the present is the extension of the contractual basis of cooperation in various spheres from the liberalization of trade exchange to environmental protection and participation in some scientific and educational projects of the European Communities. The development of these relations is in tune with Czechoslovakia's transition to a plural political system and market economy.

Minister Dienstbier handed over to his Irish guest a letter in which Czechoslovakia asks for support for its plan to base the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Prague.

The Irish minister's visit is at the same time an impulse for extending relations between Czechoslovakia and Ireland. Czechoslovakia will support contacts between the two countries' parliaments, between towns and individuals.

The two ministers also exchanged views on the question of German reunification.

Meets Havel; Ends Visit*LD1103230590 Prague CTK in English 1824 GMT
11 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received Irish Foreign Minister and President of the Council of the European Communities Gerard Collins at Lany near Prague today.

The two officials exchanged views on the current developments in Europe.

The democratic changes in the countries of Eastern Europe create preconditions for the establishment of qualitatively new relations between individual states. Czechoslovakia is interested in extending cooperation with the European Communities in the political, economic and cultural spheres. The visit of the Irish foreign minister and president of the Council of the European Communities has contributed to extending contacts with this body and at the same time opened up possibilities of broader contacts with the Irish Republic.

Gerard Collins ended his visit to Czechoslovakia later in the day.

Klaus Outlines Talks on Reconstruction Bank*LD1203110690 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT
11 Mar 90*

[Text] Paris Mar 11 (CTK correspondent)—A two-day session of conference for the establishment of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development of the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe (BERD) at the

level of heads of delegations of the countries intending to enter the bank ended here today.

The Czechoslovak delegation was headed by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus who gave an interview to CTK at the close of the event.

Asked why the establishment of the bank will take a longer a time than originally expected, Minister Klaus said he sees the reason in that there are too many participants (about forty countries) and each of them has his own idea of what the bank should or could do. The dominant mission of the bank should be to finance projects in Czechoslovakia and other countries, the minister said.

As to when the establishment of the bank could be expected, Vaclav Klaus said that there will be at least one more round of talks. A number of questions have already been solved. The United States, Japan and other countries e.g. insisted that the bank should grant credits exclusively to the private sector but in the end a compromise solution has been reached envisaging investments also to the public sector under the condition that it will strengthen competition. The bank will certainly start to function and these are its throes, the minister said.

WFTU Official Discusses Trade Unions' Future

AU0503132790 Prague PRACE in Czech
3 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Alain Stern, World Federation of Trade Unions secretary, by Ladislav Bogнар; place and date not given—"A Risk of Polarization"]

[Text] On the eve of the Czechoslovak trade unions' congress, which will make decisions on new organizational structures and on their foreign policy orientation, we asked Alain Stern, World Federation of Trade Unions [WFTU] secretary, for an interview.

[Bogнар] How does the WFTU evaluate the changes that have taken place in East and Central Europe?

[Stern] Extremely positively, especially in regard to the democratization of life and to the working people's specific participation in running society. We also appreciate the trade unions' new role and their independence from political parties and employers. These changes are in complete harmony with the WFTU's fundamental concept and with the trade unions' role.

[Bogнар] There is no doubt that the new trade unions will be independent. However, there is a danger—as in the case of Poland—that this will lead to their polarization....

[Stern] Trade union movements in East European countries, particularly in Czechoslovakia, have rich traditions and great experience. In my opinion, it is essential for all central offices to lay stress on protecting the working people's interests. There can be no compromise in this.

In the democratization of society and in the trade unions' independence I see an opportunity—as well as a task—for East European central offices to preserve current social achievements and to gradually improve them. Of course, the problem of practically implementing this aim will not be resolved without various approaches, but a plurality of views does not discount unity.

[Bogнар] Could you explain this idea in more detail?

[Stern] The situation in trade unions is not always the same, although their activity and development are oriented toward independence. It is necessary to take into consideration various points of view and to seek a consensus and common language in the trade union movement. It could happen—as, incidentally, it has happened in Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria—that mutual understanding is not reached. This is the reason for the evolution of alternative trade union organizations. Experiences from West European countries are indisputable. The moment the majority view is enforced, the danger arises that new central offices will evolve.

[Bogнар] You mentioned Hungary. From the critical speech made by a Hungarian delegate about WFTU activity at the 42d session of its General Council, I gained the impression that there is tension between Hungarian trade unions and the WFTU. What are the reasons for this?

[Stern] We listened with great attention to the suggestions made by Mr. Nagy, the Hungarian representative. During the preparation period for the 12th World Trade Union Congress, which will take place in Moscow in November, we will analyze them in detail. As a matter of fact, other critical remarks have been made about the WFTU by other member organizations. Our work lies in establishing an international trade union organization capable of defending the interests of trade union central offices. We do not only want agreement from our central offices, but, first and foremost, we want their opinion. In the future, this practice will become our organization's fundamental concept. In no way is the WFTU a superstructure; it is a coordinating organ.

[Bogнар] The Czechoslovak trade union public is interested in whether M. Zavadil and K. Hoffmann are still WFTU officials?

[Stern] WFTU officials are selected on the basis of a recommendation from national central offices. The new Czechoslovak trade unions have informed us that M. Zavadil and K. Hoffmann are no longer their members. According to the WFTU's articles, its officials must simultaneously cease their activity in national central offices. From this it is obvious that neither K. Hoffmann nor M. Zavadil are part of the WFTU's leadership.

European Council Sees Increased Cooperation*LD0703040890 Prague CTK in English 2206 GMT
6 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 6 (CTK)—Chairman of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers and Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro said at a press conference here today that he leaves with much greater optimism than he arrived with in Czechoslovakia.

He informed journalists of his talks with Czechoslovak representatives concerning the basic directions of cooperation between the Council of Europe and Czechoslovakia and other important topics that are in the centre of attention of the whole of Europe, mainly economic contacts and architecture of the common future.

"The Council of Europe, which associates 23 West European democracies, is aware of the necessity to play a more important role due to significant changes in Central and Eastern Europe", the Council's secretary general Mrs Catherine Lalumiere added.

"We are aware the Czechoslovakia, together with Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and other East European states, must become an adequate partner to Western Europe", she added.

The forthcoming session of the Council of Europe in Lisbon on March 23, which will be attended by representatives of Eastern and Central Europe including Czechoslovakia, will analyse the role of the Council of Europe in the new situation on the European Continent, Joao de Deus Pinheiro said.

"It will be a historic moment when representatives of the West and the East, together with leading officials of supreme European institutions, will debate the concept of democracy and human rights at one table", he added.

He said that he also discussed in Czechoslovakia questions concerning the visit of President Vaclav Havel to Portugal. "We would like to welcome President Havel in our country in May", he said.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier stressed the importance of Czechoslovakia's return to Europe on the principles that are valid in Europe. "Though we are at the very beginning, we can, through high political culture that was demonstrated already during our revolution, relatively easily follow up traditions that gradually developed. We are therefore also optimists", he said.

Joao de Deus Pinheiro and Catherine Lalumiere ended their short working visit to Czechoslovakia in the afternoon and left for the German Democratic Republic.

Union Committee Redistributing ROH Property*AU0903105590 Prague PRACE in Czech
6 Mar 90 pp 1, 2*

["(KAS)"-signed CTK report: "From the Union of Trade Union Associations"]

[Text] Prague—The following eight-member committee was elected at the first session of the Property, Administration, and Delimitation Union of Trade Union Associations on 3 March: Dr. Vladimir Valenta, State Organs' and Organizations' Trade Union; Robert Zednik, Wood Processing Industry, Forestry, and Water Economy Employees Trade Union; Dr. Zdenek Tayerle, Association of Theater Workers; Dr. Juraj Kramer, Slovak Union of Cultural and Social Organizations; Karol Urcic, Federal Union of Chemical Industry Employees; Engineer Milan Nadenik, Railroad Employees Trade Union; Marta Krucinska, Federal Union of Communications Employees; and Engineer Jan Strasky, Banking and Insurance Trade Union.

Dr. Borivoj Subrt was elected as the union's interim executive secretary; at the same time, he was entrusted with overseeing the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions' general council apparatus.

At yesterday's union committee session, in which representatives of the confederation and some trade unions participated, issues involving the turning over of the property and apparatus belonging to the former Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH], Czech Trade Union Council, and other all-trade union organs were discussed. A decision was made to end the activity of regional and district trade union councils in the Czech lands by 31 August 1990, with the proviso that activity involving counseling services be considered in the districts. The committee decided that the neon ROH logo should be removed from the former Central Trade Union Council [URO] building and replaced with the sign Trade Union House.

And now a supplement to yesterday's report on the general council session of the newly established Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions: Dr. Richard Falber, chairman of the Czech and Moravian Union of Services Employees, was elected as the confederation's vice president.

Yesterday [5 March] in Prague, representatives of the Property, Administration, and Delimitation Union of Trade Union Associations, established at the all-trade union congress, signed a hand-over protocol with Karel Henes, the former URO chairman, who stated in it that he does not agree with the course and outcome of the all-trade union congress.

According to Igor Pleskot, president of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions and chairman of the KOVO Union, Mr. Henes said that he does not have anything to turn over because when he took up his post three months ago he did not officially inherit anything. Therefore, he also refused to continue working in the URO building; his activity ended here yesterday.

Yesterday all senior employees in the former Central Trade Union Council had an opportunity to acquaint themselves with representatives from the trade union association. They were informed that, despite being released from their posts, they should continue working on a temporary basis until their departure can be discussed with them individually in accordance with all the legal regulations. All URO organizations are to definitely cease their activity by 31 August 1990. Dr. Borivoj Subrt, executive secretary of the Property, Administration, and Delimitation Union of Trade Union Associations, has been entrusted with resolving legal and employment issues.

New Trade Union Confederation Holds Session

LD0903130790 Prague Television Service in Czech
1830 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] We will no longer be able to find the abbreviation RTUM (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) on the building in Antonin Zapotocky Square in Prague, because it has become a residence of individual trade unions, of new independent trade unions. The General Council of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions held its first session here since its establishment. A six-member presidium has been elected, a temporary one until the Slovak trade union congress is held. The powers of the president and vice-president of the confederation have been specified. The representatives of the General Council will have talks tomorrow with the minister of communications about granting wavelengths for setting up a radio station.

Slovak Government Reallocating CPSL Space

AU0903122690 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak
8 Mar 90 p 2

[Juraj Gressner report: "Do We Not Want To Become Cosmopolitan?"]

[Text] At the 7 March briefing in the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement's Bratislava coordination center, we were acquainted with a whole series of interesting facts of concern to not only the inhabitants of Slovakia's capital city.

The Slovak Republic Government Relocation Commission—responsible for reallocating buildings in which Communist Party organs were based, or are still based—has been hard at work. For example, the Slovak Republic Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the Ministry of Culture, and the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training should move into the Communist Party of

Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee building on Hlboka Road, a building which local people have renamed the "white house." The hospital and clinic on Bezrucova Street will move into vacated premises on Suvorova Street. The Lenin Museum on Stefanikova Street will close down and the building will be used by the Slovak Heritage Foundation and several other institutions.

Newly established political parties and social organizations that operate throughout Slovakia will conduct their business in the former CPSL West Slovak Regional Committee building on Zabolova Street; the CPSL Central Committee Political College dormitory on Kalinikova Street will be used by health care staff and by teachers; and pensioners from Petralka will be given use of the dining rooms and common rooms.

On 3 March the third VPN session was held in Bratislava; representatives from VPN regional and district centers participated. Financial provisions for VPN centers in districts and regions were discussed at the meeting. The Slovak Republic Government has contributed the sum of five million korunas for their activity. VPN's legal competence was also resolved; now primary and other groups can apply for ratification at regional and district VPN coordinating centers.

A few weeks ago Mr. Soros, a Hungarian-American who offered the Slovak Government \$25 million to establish a European University, paid a visit to Bratislava. At that time, Slovak National Council [SNR] Chairman Rudolf Schuster promised that the university could be located in the still incomplete SNR building next to Bratislava Castle. The European University would be an outstanding world educational center and would accommodate students from all over the world.

However, the situation has become complicated. Primarily, because the broad-minded American's Hungarian origin has begun to bother some people.... However, there are also question marks hanging over the future use of the SNR building. It seems we are preventing ourselves from becoming cosmopolitan. This is all despite the fact that Prague, Vienna, and other European cities are vying to establish a European University! Should we not reconsider?

Weiss Denies Claim of CPSL Threats

AU1103203290

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 7 March on page 2 carries a 600-word correspondents' report on a rally of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement held in Bratislava on 6 March. On the same day, on page 2, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 500-word statement by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee, in which he responds to statements made by Jan Budaj, chairman of the VPN Council, at the 6 March rally.

According to the PRAVDA report, Jan Budaj claimed at the Bratislava rally that, prior to the 1 March session of the Slovak National Council [SNR], Rudolf Schuster, the [communist] SNR chairman, "decided of his own will" to resign from his post. However, at the session itself (which turned down the motion that Schuster be replaced by Jan Budaj), Schuster reportedly acted as a "person manipulated by the communist party, incapable of managing his own affairs," which is why he decided to stay on. Budaj attributes Schuster's change of mind to the fact that "the communist party threatened Schuster's family with severe sanctions, should he do anything against its orders."

In his response to Budaj's statements, Weiss denies that the Communist Party leadership "exerted pressure on Mr. Schuster" and accuses Budaj of having "lied." He continues: "I beg you, Mr. Budaj, how can we exert pressure on anyone in our party? Nothing is easier and more popular today than handing in one's membership card of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia! What is more, even some VPN deputies voted in favor of Mr. Schuster's staying in his post. And our deputies, in turn, voted in favor of Mr. Budaj's election as first SNR deputy chairman. This is testified to by the 45 votes cast against his election. After all, our party has a total of 65 deputies in the SNR."

Referring to Budaj's allusions to "threats" received by Rudolf Schuster, Weiss says that he, too, and even his wife and his 11-year-old daughter receive such threats from "Stalinists who are still in our party and of whom I am simply ashamed."

Civic Forum: Nationalize Communist Property

*LD1003230590 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT
10 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 10 (CTK)—The congress of Civic Forum coordinating centres from Bohemia and Moravia dealt here today with organizational issues, particularly with the Civic Forum's participation in the pre-election campaign and the elections.

It was repeatedly stressed at the congress that the property gained by the Communist Party during the past more than forty years gives it considerable advantage in elections to the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils. An appeal of the Civic Forum from Prague's CKD Polovodice plant demanding that the Communist Party should hand over this property to the state by March 31 was unanimously approved. In case the Communist Party fails to do so voluntarily, the Civic Forum will call on the Federal Assembly to adopt a legal regulation to nationalize the property of the Communist Party. At the same time it calls on the federal government to freeze this property until a legal decision is taken, in order to prevent its transfer. The Civic Forum, just as many Czechoslovak citizens, believes that this property does not come only from

contributions of Communist Party members and that the party is using a great part of it unlawfully.

Czech Government Debates 1990 Budget

*LD0903233990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2030 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] The Czech Government today discussed the draft state budget for the Czech Republic for this year. Incomes and expenditures are balanced at 158 billion korunas and the budget is of an anti-inflationary character. Compared with the original draft adopted by the government last November, the budget expenditures are reduced by 2.7 billion korunas. The reduction concerns, above all, subsidies for state enterprises, cooperatives, and organizations of the then National Front. The budget reserves 990 million korunas for expenditures connected with the provision of labor force mobility and its retraining.

In the interest of maintaining an anti-inflationary character in the budget, the Czech Government has also taken on certain risks. It is therefore necessary for incomes to be contained within the planned period. A prerequisite for this is higher efficiency and better management of enterprises. After a long debate the Czech Government agreed that despite the difficult situation with the state budget, it considers it necessary to actively support the development of education, health services, culture, the sphere of social guarantees, and the implementation of ecological measures.

The Czech Government also dealt today with draft constitutional bills on state symbols, the use of the state emblem and the state flag of the Czech Republic, the electoral term of the Czech National Council, the oath for deputy of the Czech National Council and for national committees, and the oath for members of the government of the Czech Republic, and the number of deputies in the Czech National Council.

Council Approves Name Change to Czech Republic

*AU0903150890 Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY
in Czech 7 Mar 90 pp 1, 2*

["dz"-signed report: "The Name Reads: Czech Republic; Czech National Council Deputies Support a Different Motion than Slovak National Council Deputies"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The historical moment arrived shortly before 1245 on 6 March in the Czech National Council. In their 23d session, the deputies decided by a majority of votes (four abstained) to change the name of the Czech Socialist Republic to Czech Republic. The change of name law came into effect on 6 March 1990. At the same time the deputies expressed their support for the motion by the president of the republic that the name of our state be Czechoslovak Republic. (Let us recall in this context that the Slovak National Council deputies recently suggested a different name: Federation Czechoslovakia).

Also yesterday, the deputies passed a law on election to the Czech National Council based on the law on election to the Federal Assembly. Three deputies were against, nine abstained. The passing of the law was preceded by arguments, in particular regarding the five percent threshold on admission to parliament and the representation of ethnic minorities.

In addition, members of the Czech government responded in the Czech National Council yesterday to the deputies' debate of 5 March. Premier P. Pithart stated in connection with the question of the government approach regarding the return of some Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] property, that no other ways exist but legal ones. However, he rejected the idea that the government should solve the problem of the CPCZ ownership through use of nationalization decrees or by similar expropriation. At the same time, he informed the deputies that a weekly of the Czech National Council and of the Czech Government, entitled CESKA POLITIKA [Czech politics], will soon be published which—as opposed to other media—will carry the full text of documents, statements, and resolutions of the Czech government and parliament, and also discourses by historians and political scientists. [passage omitted]

Minister of Justice D. Buresova, in response to inquiries by deputies, spoke on the passing of the rehabilitation law. She stated that the law is complete and that it will be reviewed by the federal government on 8 March. It should concern itself with unjust cases relating to the period from 25 February 1948 to the end of 1989. Compensation for forfeited property should be dealt with in another law. Other areas of rehabilitation (social, employment-related legal, and other) will be dealt with gradually. Further, D. Buresova stated that the judges who were only instruments of the will of others in the 1950's do not work as judges any longer. The judges of the 1970's are defending themselves by stating that they followed and applied valid laws. Nevertheless, 65 judges, including all chairmen of Regional Courts, have already been recalled in the Czech Republic. The body of judges must be rebuilt and complemented by deeply moral persons. [passage omitted] Minister of Health and Social Affairs P. Klener said among other things that after discussions with the Ministry of Defense, the possibility of utilizing some military health care facilities for civilian users is being considered.

The 23rd session of the Czech National Council was closed 6 March. Upon its completion, the Presidium met and pronounced the laws passed yesterday [6 March] to be in force. It also announced the election date for the elections to the Czech National Council as 8 and 9 June 1990 (same as the elections to the Federal Assembly). [passage omitted]

Socialist Party Prepares for Congress

LD0903213590 Prague CTK in English 1346 GMT
9 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 9 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party's election program will respect Czechoslovakia's transition to market economy, Secretary of the Socialist Party Stanislav Krecek told a news conference here today.

He stated that the Socialists' election program will be aimed at preserving social certainties of people and at establishing a perfect legal code, and will support the idea of European integration.

Chairman of the Socialist Party Jan Skoda added that the party will strive for strong Czechoslovakia and resolutely oppose any extensive selling out of Czechoslovak property to foreigners. The program of the party will be discussed in detail at its congress due in Prague March 16-18.

Jan Skoda informed journalists that the congress is to result in a merger of the existing three streams of socialists—the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak National Social Party comprising emigrants in exile, and those former members who were expelled from the party after February 1948 when communists started to build their monopoly in Czechoslovakia. He pointed out that the congress will be attended by representatives of the Italian Socialist Party, the Polish Democratic Party, the Greek Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the East German Liberal Democratic Party and other guests.

The 4th congress of the Czechoslovak National Social Party in exile will take place in Prague on March 15, attended by delegates from the United States, Canada, Austria, Switzerland, France, West Germany and the Netherlands. It will be the last congress of this party.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party is one of the oldest political parties in the country. It was founded in 1897 and at the time of the communist rule ranked among the most persecuted. Its members who emigrated at that time established the Czechoslovak National Social Party in exile with its centre in the United States and Canada.

Independent Candidates Encouraged To Seek Office

AU1103200790 Prague PRACE in Czech 7 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Civil Liberties Movement Call for the Registration of Independent Candidates"]

[Excerpt] Public demands for the representation of independent candidates in the elections to the Federal Assembly are growing. The new election law, however,

does not allow for their direct participation, i.e., the possibility of their appearance will be confined only to the Civic Forum list of candidates. The interest of many newly arising political parties and movements will be focused on this list, however, and their pressure could push the independent candidates into the background. Therefore, the Civil Liberties Movement (HOS), in the spirit of its "Democracy for All" manifesto from 1988 and as one of the founding constituent parts of the Civic Forum, will proceed in parallel with the Civic Forum and will propose a separate list of independent candidates. Our idea is based on the fact that HOS itself has no ambitions for political power, does not want to assert its own election program, and is therefore able to make available its resources to complement and broaden the possibilities for these candidates.

We are appealing to all special interest and professionally oriented groups to put forward from their midst candidates who are without party affiliation, real personalities who, thanks to their professional know-how and moral characteristics, will arouse respect not only within

the given group, but also in the general public, personalities who will also be certain to assert in parliament, in addition to the group interests, the interests of the entire civic society.

We are also addressing individuals who are interested in participating in the upcoming elections as independent candidates. [passage omitted]

Deputy Minister Protests Castro Remarks

*LD0903182190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] The Czechoslovak foreign deputy conveyed a sharp protest to Cuban Ambassador Mario Rodriguez Martinez in Prague today about the speech by Fidel Castro winding up the congress of the Cuban Women's Federation. In the speech, the Cuban leader grossly attacked the Czechoslovak Government and other politicians over the UN resolution in Geneva, endorsed by Czechoslovakia, which criticized the violation of human rights in Cuba.

Defense Minister on Army Strength, Policy

LD0903195590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1540 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Demands by Army members for immediate release from active service or for postings to places near their homes on the basis of future draft legislation are contrary to valid legal regulations and to the enlistment oath. GDR Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann told ADN at a Berlin news conference today that the military service law is still in force and forms the legal basis for male GDR citizens' service in the Armed Forces. GDR soldiers must continue to ensure the Armed Forces' ability to function and to guarantee military installations' security. The soldiers' wish to be released to perform civilian service in their local district can only be granted after notification has been received from the responsible labor office director of acceptance into civilian service.

Western press statements that at present only 50 percent of Army members are turning up for duty do not correspond with the facts, the defense minister said. The number of deserters is between 500 and 1,000. Despite the very complicated situation the Armed Forces, whose strength, he said, is 130,000 men plus 12,000 who are employed in industry, will fulfill the alliance commitments in the Warsaw Pact.

On the subject of security in Europe, he spoke in favor of level-headedness in the two German states' unification. An overhasty annexation and the inclusion of the GDR in NATO's sphere would seriously complicate the situation. A NATO advance to the Oder would mean a change in the existing military balance of forces. In the course of drawing together the European states of the two alliance systems, the German states and armies will also become political and military partners in establishing structural incapacity for attack and in deepening the network of confidence and security-building measures.

At present work is in progress in the Defense Ministry on publication of a first white paper on the GDR's military security policy and on the development, structure, arms, and equipment of the National People's Army. Hoffmann said he believes that from today's point of view armed forces are necessary to safeguard every state's sovereignty. During the "two-plus-four" conference and a CSCE states meeting conditions can be laid down on the strength of the Armed Forces of a united Germany, also if it is not to be a "federal army."

Office To Convert Military Resources Planned

LD1203114490 Hamburg DPA in German 1143 GMT
12 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The GDR Government is expected to set up an Office for Disarmament and Conversion before the end of this week. This was announced by Walter Romberg, the Social Democratic Party minister

without portfolio, to journalists in Bonn on Monday. By conversion is meant the diversion of military financial resources to other areas.

During his four weeks in his ministerial office, Romberg has dealt, above all, with security and defense issues. He said that the National People's Army is in a process of constant reduction. Conversion in the industrial and social areas is one of the main problems. Many officers will have to be trained for new occupations. A united Germany and Europe are increasingly faced with the same task.

Expert-Level Unification Talks To Continue

LD0903151590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1237 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—After two and a half hours of talks in the GDR Foreign Ministry guest house in Berlin, the first meeting at expert level on external aspects of German unification and on issues relating to the security of neighboring states ended on 9 March. As GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch and FRG Foreign Office Political Director Dieter Kastrup told the press after the meeting, both sides talked about procedural matters for future German-German negotiations. Apart from that, confidentiality about the talks has been agreed. It was agreed that the talks should be continued at the appropriate time after the People's Chamber elections, says a statement issued by both sides. [passage omitted]

CDU Chairman Rejects 'Unconditional' Union

LD1003123190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1014 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere, speaking today on behalf of his party, has rejected the unconditional union of the GDR and the FRG. At an international CDU seminar, "Germany in Europe," held in Berlin, he said Article 23 of the FRG's Basic Law made possible a constitutional unification of the two German states via the fastest route. However, this route is only viable for the GDR if the conditions for growing together are clear and set out in advance.

Lothar de Maiziere told representatives of European Christian Democrat and Conservative parties that unification would extend over a certain period during which such individual measures such as monetary and social union would not suffer further delay. As part of the pan-European process, unification must be harmonized and agreed on with neighboring countries. Their borders are inviolable and should no longer be called into question. "Every Polish citizen has to know that he is living within secure and recognized borders," the CDU chairman said. He expressed the expectation that after 18 March both parliaments would make a statement to this effect.

Gysi Rejects Social Cuts, Annexation*LD1003120390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1112 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi has spoken against social cuts and in favor of great social security at a "Rosa Luxemburg Day of Action for Democratic Socialism" at the party executive today in Berlin. Under the slogan "think of our children," he answered questions there today on the subjects of the disabled, those affected, and society, as well as on children and schools.

After 18 March, besides strong opposition in the People's Chamber, there must be a movement outside of parliament that would confront any attempts to make social cuts. At the first sign of this, the PDS must take to the streets, the party chairman stressed to numerous Berliners, including parents with their children. The GDR's social achievements should not be thrown overboard just because an FRG chancellor called Kohl wants them to be.

Gregor Gysi supports greater general education as well as educating for tolerance. At the same time, he called for education to be accessible to all. The educational path open to the individual should not be dependent on his parents' wallet.

The PDS chairman resolutely rejected the GDR being annexed to the FRG under Article 23 of the FRG's Basic Law and criticized those parties that supported the GDR's subsumption on this basis.

Other items on the agenda for the day of action are a children's party, numerous rounds of discussion, and a lot of music, including some with FRG rock star Rio Reiser.

FRG CSU Chief Urges Annexation of GDR*LD1003204190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1807 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] Gera/Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Speaking in Gera today, Theodor Waigel, Bavarian Christian Social Union [CSU] chairman and federal finance minister, called for the annexation of the GDR to the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law because "the preparation of a new constitution will take too long." The Basic Law of the Federal Republic can be taken over with minor alterations as "the best and freest constitution that has ever been on German soil," he said at an election event for the Alliance for Germany, called by the German Social Union [DSU], which belongs to the alliance. Waigel confirmed the readiness to financially support the people in the GDR. There is only one thing he will not do: "Give Mr. Modrow and the comrades of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany unlimited credits." With a particular view to the GDR's trade union law, he said: "What has been decided in the People's Chamber in recent weeks does not help us to move forward, but

throws us back." Waigel brazenly described as a "historical paradox" the confirmation of the GDR's social achievements made by Gorbachev.

Earlier, as the main speaker at a DSU election rally in Karl-Marx-Stadt, Waigel referred to the close relationship between the GDR DSU and the Bavarian CSU: "DSU sounds like CSU, and we understand one another very well." He described the year in which voters in the GDR can vote freely for the first time as a fateful one. [passage omitted]

Deputy Premier, FRG Industry Chief Meet*LD1003180590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1617 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—A review of the steps taken by the Modrow government toward a market economy was the subject of a talk held by Deputy Premier Professor Dr. Christa Luft with Tyll Necker, Federation of German Industry chairman, in Leipzig today. Prof. Luft subsequently told ADN that they agreed that in four months a great deal has happened in the GDR—even if FRG industrialists would have liked some things to have been different or to have moved more quickly. The Council of Ministers' decree amending the law on the State Bank was positively assessed, because the possibility of banks establishing branches was also touched on. According to Tyll Necker, the trade union law hinders private Federal German investment in the GDR. Both sides agreed that the People's Chamber must begin work soon after 18 March; time does not stand still for economists.

Joint FRG Anti-Nuclear Protest at Stendal*LD1103211990 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1751 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Text] Stendal (ADN)—Opponents of nuclear energy from both German states joined today outside the construction site for the Stendel nuclear power station for the first demonstration against nuclear power stations held in the GDR. About 6,000 people answered the Green Party's call. They carried banners with slogans such as "No nuclear plants anywhere," "Shut off all nuclear power stations on earth," and "Gorleben-Stendal: Radioactivity knows no frontiers," and marched peacefully from nearby Dalchau to the construction site. Many demonstrators, mainly West German ones, tried to converse with workers on nuclear power and other issues.

Ingrid Froehlich, from New Forum, called for an immediate halt to construction. The decades-long policy of understating the dangers has turned the GDR into a developing country as far as environmental protection is concerned. For this reason, Siemens and other FRG enterprises want to build new nuclear power stations in the GDR to make vast profits, power stations that are long since obsolete and can no longer be built in the

FRG. The money would be better spent on environmentally friendly means of production.

In a telegram to the participants, GDR Minister Sebastian Pflugbeil expressed his pleasure that reason is beginning to hold sway.

There was a brief incident when the fence to the construction site was broken through by demonstrators wearing masks, some of whom were federal Germans. The People's Police said the security partnership with the Green Party has proved its worth.

GDR, FRG Leaders Address Election Rallies

Chancellor Kohl in Rostock

LD0903192190 Hamburg DPA in German 1836 GMT
9 Mar 90

[Text] Rostock (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl (CDU [Christian Democratic Union]) today called on GDR citizens in Rostock to vote out "all communist bosses" at the 18 March People's Chamber elections. During his electoral appearance at an "Alliance for Germany" rally, Kohl repeated his Bundestag statement that no one in Poland need fear a reunited Germany. "The Poles can continue to live within secure borders," he said. According to the organizers, 140,000 people attended the rally.

In addition to a sea of black, red, and gold flags, jubilant people shouting "Germany" and "Helmut," there were massive protests. The Party for Democratic Socialism, the United Left, and former Stasi members had called for a counterdemonstration. Eggs were thrown, and two stones landed behind the podium from which Kohl was speaking. As a firecracker thrown from the crowd exploded in front of the podium, Kohl shouted to the crowd: "Do not be impressed by the rabble!"

Rainer Eppelmann, Democratic Awakening (DA) Executive member, conveyed greetings to the rally "from my ill friend Wolfgang Schnur." Eppelmann defended Schnur by saying that as a lawyer, he had for years tried to help people who had become victims of the Stasi. Now he himself was to become one.

Eastern CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere gave assurances that the Alliance would "take decisive steps toward unification" in the event of victory in the elections. German Social Union Chairman Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling called for "unity immediately." The rally ended with the singing of the third verse of the "Deutschlandlied."

More on Kohl, Others Remarks

LD0903210490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1850 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and representatives of the "Alliance for Germany" reiterated their unreserved "yes" to a rapid monetary

union, effective economic reforms, and a social community of the GDR and the FRG this evening. At a large rally in the center of Rostock, at which enthusiastic shouts of "Helmut, Helmut" and loud and constant whistling made plain the opposing views of the crowd, Kohl urged before some 130,000 people from the north of the GDR that "all communist bigwigs" be voted out. The "Alliance for Germany", comprising the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], the Democratic Awakening, and the DSU [German Social Union] stands for the country's unity and for a better future. The chancellor stressed that the recent developments and the first free elections in the GDR have only become possible through Mikhail Gorbachev's policies. We want the united, peaceful Germany to become part of the peaceful development of Europe and want no neighboring country to feel threatened, the chancellor said.

Repeatedly interrupted by whistling, Kohl stressed that he had come to extend his hand to the people of the GDR for shaping the common future. The social market economy offers the opportunity for bringing capital very rapidly to the GDR to put the country on its feet. Kohl said that over 3,000 large and small companies are ready to help create the foundations for a better future after the historically important decision of 18 March. He conceded that this will not be an easy road. But the FRG is prepared as an act of solidarity with the GDR to help finance pensions, to provide the start for a national insurance scheme, and to control rents, as has been done in the FRG for years. To savers in the GDR he said: "We know about the fears and about this social obligation; you do not need to have any worries on this subject."

Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling for the DSU, Lothar de Maiziere for the CDU, and Rainer Eppelmann for the Democratic Awakening also endorsed the market economy, monetary union, and social community but were also subjected to repeated whistling. Eggs and cabbages were thrown at the platform. When a few firecrackers exploded Kohl shouted to the crowd: "Don't be impressed by the rabble!"

Also met with disapproval was CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere's remark that it was not those who are whistling here who brought about the changes in the fall, but those who shouted at the time, "We are the people." His assertion that those who oppose Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law do not even know what it contains also caused a commotion. In his speech, he also said that the GDR's people would contribute hard work, persistence, and their capacity for solidarity to a common Germany.

As a member of Modrow's government, Rainer Eppelmann of the Democratic Awakening gave an assessment of the present situation in the GDR. It is bad and getting worse day by day. "And those who are responsible for it are now trying to present themselves as the nation's saviors," he said. With regard to the intended introduction of the social market economy after German unification Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling promised: "Then we will

see how things move, and then our standard of living will improve more quickly than it did at the time in the Federal Republic."

SPD Official Rejects NATO Membership

LD1103212890 Hamburg DPA in German 1622 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Magdeburg (DPA)—Oskar Lafontaine, Social Democratic Party [SPD] chancellor candidate-designate, advocates that the GDR's social problems should be solved as a matter of priority. "Discussions about borders and constitutional articles will not solve the GDR's problems," he said at an election rally on Sunday before 10,000-15,000 citizens (People's Police estimate) in Magdeburg. A social insurance and pension system should be set up. In addition, the infrastructure must be improved.

To the applause of the rally's participants, Lafontaine affirmed his position that the Federal government should invest money in the GDR and not spend it on resettlers in the Federal Republic. Concerning the discussion on the Polish western border, the SPD politician said this "dance on egg shells" has been a mistake.

He said that remarks implying that a united Germany should remain in NATO are "foolish." "Surely, this cannot be the reply to Mikhail Gorbachev," Lafontaine said. Without Gorbachev there would not have been the democracy movements in the East European countries. To loud applause, Lafontaine reminded his audience that the SPD of the GDR is entering the election as a party with a clear conscience. However, he also urged that those who have repented and made a fresh start be given "a chance."

Genscher in Magdeburg

LD1003163690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1528 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—In the opinion of FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP) [Free Democratic Party], the present GDR will become one of the great economic growth regions of the European Community in the next few years. For this a "German Marshall Plan for the GDR" is needed, Genscher said today at a rally of the Union of Free Democrats (FDP/LDP/DFP) [FDP/Liberal Democratic Party/German Forum Party] of the GDR in Magdeburg. The federal government would discuss this with the freely elected GDR Government after 18 March he said.

However, his government would not come empty-handed, but with the awareness of the precious possession of hard-won freedom and aware that "the Germans in the GDR had to carry the heavier burden of our common history." This common history is the basis of the common future. "In negotiations between equals we will arrive at an understanding about the path to German unity, which is at the same time the way toward

European unity." A Germany of freedom and of democracy is to be created, a Germany of good-neighborliness, a Germany whose unity would be felt by its neighbors to be a gain and enrichment for themselves, a Germany that contributed toward stability in Europe.

The Union of Free Democrats has no doubt as to its objectives, Genscher said, with regard to abolishing truly existing socialism and replacing it with the truly functioning social market economy. Now is the time to decide in favor of a free economic and social order.

Genscher at Cottbus Rally

LD0903201390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1845 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—The GDR people have achieved a great deal in a difficult situation, but they could have achieved more under different conditions, federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (Free Democratic Party) said at an election rally of the League of Free Democrats in Cottbus this evening. The GDR people are just as intelligent, industrious, active, and creative as their fellow countrymen in the West. They just have to be given the opportunity to develop their abilities freely. This is why it is important for initiative to be used, he told thousands of people in Cottbus. On the unification process, Genscher said that a united Germany must be a country of freedom, democracy, and peace policy, a country that will lead the way in disarmament. Now that the wall of stone has fallen, the walls of missiles, guns, and bombs must also fall. "We need our strength for better purposes than a senseless arms race," Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed.

Brandt at SPD Rally in Potsdam

LD1103192190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1835 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—In a few years the eastern part will be the more modern part of Germany. This view was expressed by Willy Brandt, German Social Democrats [SPD] honorary chairman, at the SPD election rally this afternoon to over 60,000 people in Potsdam. In his view, many of the citizens who are today still leaving their country will return home. The means for the GDR's economic reconstruction will not come from the chancellor's private purse, Brandt said, countering fears about the absence of aid in the event of an SPD victory. In his opinion, it is necessary to join together the two parts of Germany and not simply annex the GDR. The path via Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law is a false one. "Securing the rights of those people who may fall under the wheels is more important than the comfort of those who travel first class," Brandt said. He named as the next step to German unity monetary union and an economic growth together. A future economically powerful Germany is not a danger to its neighbors.

Before this election rally, which was also addressed by several SPD People's Chamber candidates, Brandt was a guest in Neuruppin.

FRG's Lambsdorff in Wernigerode

*LD0903200190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1616 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] Wernigerode (ADN)—The greatest objective is to preserve external peace in Europe and the world, said Otto Graf Lambsdorff, federal chairman of the Free Democratic Party [FDP], at an election rally by the League of Free Democrats in Wernigerode today. The FRG politician stressed to several hundred inhabitants that if this does not succeed then monetary union and German unification are pointless. The political harvest comes from what the people have sown. There is a willingness in the FRG to give the GDR all possible help. One precondition is economic reform. "If we tackle this properly then the GDR will one day be more competitive, more dynamic, and economically stronger than the FRG is now." Lambsdorff sharply rejected the "sorry trade union law" adopted by the GDR People's Chamber a few days ago. Ten days before the elections something had been adopted that others will have to change again. The FDP chairman admitted that at present a "comical election campaign" is under way. "You don't know the candidates in your election, but you know me."

5,000 Demonstrate in Plauen; Voting Urged

*LD1003223990 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1856 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] Plauen (ADN)—There were about 5,000 participants today at the traditional Saturday demonstration in Plauen. The speakers outside the town hall put the emphasis on participation in the elections. Dr. Seidel from the "Group of 20" called on citizens to make use of their right to vote on 18 March so that a real result is achieved. Dr. Grunert from New Forum appealed to the local people of Plauen and the surrounding area to join in one more major, but peaceful demonstration before the elections. [passage omitted]

Election Commission Favors No 17 Mar Campaigns

*LD0903152290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1432 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR election commission recommends that in the interests of the voters, all forms of active election campaigning should cease after 16 March, at 2100. This will ensure that from this moment on up to the opening of the polling stations there will be a pause for reflection.

Roundtable Convenes for Concluding Session

*LD1203092490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0812 GMT 12 Mar 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Out of a gathering of concerned and anxious people a coalition of committed ones, facing the hazard of national responsibility, has emerged. This was said by Pastor Martin Lange, one of the moderators of the central roundtable at the start of the 16th and final session at 0900 in Berlin today.

The parties, political associations, and organizations represented at the roundtable will discuss points of view for a new constitution. Also on the agenda are a report from the working group for the dissolution of the Office for National Security, a report on the commercial coordination sector, considerations on administrative reform, and a concluding declaration on its own work.

A proposal to hold a referendum on a new Constitution on 17 June will be made at the roundtable by New Forum, it was announced by Klaus Wolfram (Berlin) at an event held by the Alliance '90 (New Forum, Democracy Now, Peace and Human Rights Initiative) in Magdeburg on Saturday.

*** Parties' German Unity Views Published**

*90EG0189A East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 22 Feb 90 p 3*

[Article by Bettina Urbanski: "BERLINER ZEITUNG Presents Pre-Election Statements on Germany Policy"; first paragraph is BERLINER ZEITUNG introduction; respondents are identified in their respective segments]

[Text] On this page BERLINER ZEITUNG [BZ] begins to present the GDR parties and citizens' movements in the run-up to 18 March. In order to make it easier for our readers to orient themselves, we want to present as accurately and as clearly as possible the individual parties and the parties and groupings that, while independent, have formed electoral alliances on the basis of shared basic positions. To that end BZ is asking for very concrete solutions to problems and for programmatic statements that go beyond the now universal slogans like "market economy," "social," "ecological," and "democratic," because it is not possible to determine what people mean just from those—as both journalists and readers have recently discovered. All too readily, such political shorthand leads to evasion where voters want precise information. After all, for the first time in our country we have to make decisions. Politicians therefore should not just talk in general terms about "What" (many campaigning politicians soon come back to the aforementioned clichés) but also about the nitty-gritty details of "How." What is at stake is good, secure jobs, health care, housing, rents, and wages, the future of our children and older people... We must judge the candidates for office by their statements on these problems. Of course we will not find out how serious they are until after the elections. We will stick with it to check out whether promises correspond to reality. For this article

BZ posed three questions to the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], which has joined with the Democratic Awakening and the DSU [German Social Union] to form the Alliance for Germany; to the LDP [Liberal Democratic Party], which has formed the Alliance of Free Democrats with the DFP [German Freedom Party] and the FDP [Liberal Party of Germany]; to Alliance 90, which is made up of Democracy Now, the New Forum, and the Peace and Human Rights Initiative; to the SPD [Social Democratic Party]; to the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]; to the Green Party, which has formed an electoral alliance with the Independent Women's Association; to the DBD [Democratic Peasant's Party of Germany]; to the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany]; and to the United Left. First: When and how will German unity be on the agenda? Second: What foreign and domestic preconditions do you feel must be met before unification of the two German states is possible? Third: What things of value does the GDR bring into the unification process and how can they be protected?

Alliance 90: Konrad Weiss, Democracy Now Spokesman

First: A very clear response from our electoral alliance: yes, we want unity. But as the result of a process of mutual rapprochement. We want to preserve those elements in our history—our personal history and that of our country—that are worth preserving.

Second: We seek a European peace treaty rather than a purely German-German arrangement. It would be wrong of us to shift the Walls to the Oder in the process of unification. The unification process offers an excellent opportunity for demilitarization, only that will make a united Germany tolerable to its neighbors. Naturally the border question must be cleared up prior to unification. For that reason, I consider Poland's request to be included in the two-plus-four negotiations fully justified.

We in the GDR must be allowed to carry out free elections without interference and proceed undisturbed with the process of democratization and restructuring. Of course, that is pure illusion because there is massive interference from the FRG. That is another reason to think in terms of Europeanization. We in the Democracy Now citizens' movement have appealed to our European neighbors for help. The money that the GDR needs must not come only from the Federal Republic.

Another important aspect: cleaning up the economy. Our goal is therefore economic and monetary association—not union. The violent reaction on the international stock markets proves that immediate monetary union would be a fiasco, one that would create a heavy burden for people in the FRG as well.

Third: The broad popular movement, which arose out of small citizens' movements, could revive the ossified political landscape in the Federal Republic. Also, we have a totally independent art and culture.

The social and other rights of GDR citizens must be specified in law. In order to secure the achievements of land reform, to secure land and real estate, we might have a moratorium with the Federal Republic, agreeing not to change the status quo for five years and to clear up this sort of problem in that period.

CDU: Lothar de Maiziere, Party Chairman

First: German unity is on the agenda. In view of the extraordinarily rapid political developments, I am unable to give an exact time frame. But unity must be accomplished in the shortest possible time. The question really is not when, but how.

Second: We want to see an orderly transition to a federal state and at the same time we must take immediate steps to achieve economic stabilization. Contrary to the opinion of the Roundtable, we consider it necessary to move quickly toward monetary and economic union. Because the purchasing power of the Deutsche mark is greater than that of the mark, one would be able to obtain more goods and services for the same pay. Without signs of hope like that, additional thousands will leave this country.

Naturally, the transition and harmonization terms need to be negotiated.

The foreign policy aspects are the most complex. The question of German unity can no longer be solved within the framework of a European peace order, because that will not come about in the immediate future. On the other hand, I consider it right and proper that German unity is on the horizon. We therefore need a German interim solution, which could very well send out positive signals more generally. The CDU considers the western boundary of Poland definitively fixed.

Third: In past years, values of solidarity in our mutual intercourse have increased, and, too, the position of women is very different here than in the Federal Republic, while Modrow was quite correct when he pointed out in Bonn that we enjoy a certain cultural independence. And above all, we have very hard-working and well-educated people. As for material worth, we have ideal industrial locations and despite all the problems, a relatively well-developed infrastructure.

If we are to secure and use all our wealth and values for those who created them, we will need the harmonization negotiations I just mentioned. In them, we need to make clear arrangements that will create certainty over long periods.

LDP: Prof Dr. Rainer Ortlieb, Party Chairman

First: The LDP seeks the fastest reasonable unification. In order to accomplish that, we need to do right away the things that can be done right away. That calls for boldness on both sides.

As we advance on the road to national unity, we believe the following needs to be done: build up a transport

association between the GDR and the FRG, rapid creation of an economic community and monetary union between the two German states, elect an all-German federal assembly and a federal head of state—we have proposed Richard von Weizsaecker for that—and joint membership in the United Nations. We ought to have a plebiscite on German unity this very year.

Second: The first thing after 18 March, we need to form a democratic government. We need to make thorough changes in the economic system, leading to a social market economy, which will lead to economic growth. There are many points on this road that need to be cleared up in bilateral negotiations: social security, all-German constitution, etc.

In terms of foreign policy, the LDP states that a united Germany must fully respect existing borders and international treaties on them and obligate itself to play a constructive role in the peace process and demilitarization in Europe. We need to work out agreed arrangements on all this with the victorious powers of the Second World War and with our neighbors.

Third: The GDR has people with good technical training and strong motivation. The consciousness of having fought for and won the rights of freedom and democracy gives people in our part of Germany a sense of pride and selfworth. All of this plus significant intellectual and cultural values makes our contribution to unity no small one.

At the same time, a nonfunctioning economy has undermined values achieved and sought by GDR citizens. We are counting on the Federal Republic's assurance that it will extend its social network to people in the eastern portion of Germany.

Green Party: Dr. Christine Weiske, Member of the Party Board of Directors

First: Immediate state unity is not on the agenda as far as we are concerned. We would like to see the coexistence on equal terms of the two German states, which would allow a process of rapprochement between the two German states.

Second: Unification must be made a process that is good and advantageous for the Germans in both countries. That calls for an expert, fact-based, responsible approach, which naturally will also include areas like the currency and the economy. We need a plan that first ensures that the GDR will be healed ecologically and economically. We feel that the creation of a social charter is just as important as the economic and monetary questions, because the lives of millions of people are at stake. Later it would be possible to create a constituent assembly within a confederative framework to work out a new constitution from the FRG's Basic Law and our experience with the GDR constitutions.

Parallel of course to these questions is that of membership in the military blocs. Both German states must get

out of them. I consider it irresponsible when some politicians act as though that were secondary. If this issue is not resolved, NATO could have the chance to take over all of Europe. We need to create a European peace order.

Third: It is regrettable that something is being lost in the euphoric discussion of unification—that is the pride that GDR citizens really ought to have in what they have accomplished in the last three months. Another thing of value in my opinion is the Roundtable, an important instrument of control and guidance for elected politicians. We want to see to it that this element of grassroots democracy is anchored in the constitution.

Something else important is the community's responsibility for social welfare, so that pensioners do not suffer a third time, for instance. All property claims must be examined in a just, legal framework that will protect not-for-profit institutions and the property of the people.

SPD: Stephan Hilsbert, First Party Spokesman

First: The German Question has always been on the agenda because there was only an artificial sense of identity with the GDR. That disappeared with the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and the collapse of the country.

The SPD sees four difficulties in the way of German unity: coordinating unification with the processes under way in Europe; creating all-German institutions so that unification does not lead to a chaotic annexation with all the ensuing negative consequences for us; prudent reform of the GDR legal order, because otherwise the social market economy and social security will develop along separate paths and property rights will be endangered; administrative reform, which would result in the creation of five federal states.

Second: I have already cited the necessary steps. They call for some patience so that we can ensure the unity of the social, monetary, and economic union, and that all these things are not arranged by the FRG without our consent. We insist on self-determination.

The unification process must simultaneously act as an engine driving disarmament, with a parallel rundown of the military apparatus. We do not consider neutrality possible, but of course the GDR cannot become part of NATO either. Therefore the military presence must drop significantly. The two-plus-four conference agreed on in Ottawa should work toward that goal. In addition, economic cooperation and the interconnections within Europe could provide guarantees that any fear of a united Germany is unfounded.

Third: The GDR is worth whatever its citizens think of it. We can offer the awareness that one must fight for freedom, that it does not come on a silver platter. And our good relations with Eastern Europe, which could prove useful as a bridge. As for the social sector, the FRG has much good to offer too. However, our goals—

securing our accomplishments, protecting renters, the socially weak, and pensioners, etc., can only be achieved if we shape the process of unification ourselves. And a social union is one of the main priorities in this process.

PDS: Dr. Jochen Willerding, Member of the Party Executive

First: German unity is not on the agenda now. But the solution of the German Question has been put on the agenda. I would like to see here a process of rapprochement between the two German states, in which the German-German aspect would come to stand more and more in an inseparable relationship with the European and international aspects. I envision the following steps: rapid conclusion of a treaty community, creation of confederal structures, creation of a German confederation with common authorities in the sense of a German association.

Second: As Germans we cannot, even today after over 40 years, act as though there had been no Auschwitz, no Leningrad, no Coventry, or Verdun. For that reason the unification process is possible only on the basis of international law and we must build it into the CSCE process. Also definitive recognition of the Oder-Neisse border. Suggesting that the GDR could become part of NATO is unrealistic.

We want a process of rapprochement aimed at democracy, anti-Fascism, social progress, humanism, and peace. That also demands citizens' willingness to produce, courage to struggle for every single social and democratic achievement, and to do something for the environment. The interests of GDR citizens must built into the historic process by a strong, sovereign, independent GDR.

Third: The Premier recently cited the figures for material wealth: net national wealth of M1.84 trillion; M140 billion in cooperative property, M280 billion in private property, and M980 billion in state property. In addition, there is 6.2 million hectares of agricultural land, absolutely unencumbered financially. We offer a whole package of social services, democratic intercourse among citizens, and a values discussion that is oriented inter alia on the interests of workers. Finally, we have an active peace policy.

Without a sovereign government in a strong GDR, based on a legitimized parliament, it will be impossible to protect our legal and social interests.

DBD: Dr. Guenther Maleuda, Party Chairman

First: It is the view of the DBD that German unity will be achieved in the foreseeable future, but not overnight. Unification represents a complicated process and one that is not free of contradictions and illusions. The DBD considers it necessary for things that belong together organically to grow together.

I feel that the experts' discussions now under way to form a monetary union and economic community between the two German states are well-timed and necessary. Although there has been less talk lately about the concepts of confederation or association of states, I would not like to reject those out of hand.

Second: I have already mentioned two extraordinarily important steps: the monetary union and the economic community. Both of these require that we lay the groundwork that will allow them to function. For instance, anyone who wants to see approximately similar economic systems—a market economy in other words—must do all that is required to make them secure, both legally and socially. I would merely cite the need for an appropriate wage-price system and unemployment insurance.

Today both German states are still committed to their respective alliance systems. Here we need to lay the groundwork that will make it possible for them to get together. For our neighbors it is an existential question to know that war and territorial claims will never arise from German soil again.

Third: In my opinion, the GDR is not at all bankrupt or worthless. It embodies material wealth, ideals, and cultural, ethical, and moral values that it can and will bring into the process of unification. I am thinking about free education and health care, social benefits for mothers and children.

As soon as possible, we need to create further legal regulations protecting all forms of property. In the negotiations on monetary union we definitely must press for protection for citizens' savings.

NDPD: Wolfgang Rauls, Party Chairman

First: Not long ago at our 14th Party Conference we stated clearly that we can envision German unity and we presented an eight-step plan. However, we consider it dangerous to arouse illusions with respect to the pace of unification. There are people in the Federal Republic in eminently responsible positions on this problem, and we support them—Foreign Minister Genscher or President Von Weizsaecker, for instance. We therefore believe that the restoration of German unity must not be allowed to pass Europe by. It must be a major engine driving the construction of the European house.

Second: I consider the demilitarization of the two German states and the repudiation of further armaments necessary—not for NATO to spread to the GDR. The blocs should be converted from military into political alliances.

Our electoral program calls for creating an economic and monetary union as soon as possible. But—and here I cite our position at the Roundtable—"as soon as possible" means at a reasonable pace, so we can take the social components into consideration. We must restore the federal Laender structure. Once this has been done, we

could aim to set up an all-German Chamber of Laender, leading to a confederation with common political bodies. A plebiscite would have to decide on the specific form of unity.

Third: First and foremost, I would like to mention our cultural identity with our home region. Because the past was not all bad! We must protect our social system—though with greater stability—and bring it with us into our common future. At the Roundtable we are among the initiators in matters of social security. Because when you consider the great economic gulf between us and the FRG, it is clear that too-rapid unification would entail major social tensions.

United Left: Marion Seelig, Media Representative for the Initiative

First: Basically we do not consider unification to be on the agenda. We envision things developing toward a treaty community with two states belonging to one nation, with mutual recognition of each state. We consider this point particularly important in view of the problems that would arise from, say, the unconditional takeover of the Federal Republic's legal system. We certainly separate economic questions such as cooperation, credits, etc., from unification.

Second: I have already stated our basic position. We consider our relationship with our neighbors, particularly the Poles, the decisive point in the German question. Poland should have a place at the negotiating table too. It is also obvious that the military blocs must be deprived of their *raison d'être*, if it really comes to unification.

The United Left opposes on principle any over-hasty unification. Therefore monetary union is impossible as a first step. We need to clean up our economy, the social security system, so that half of our enterprises do not go bankrupt, leaving people without jobs. Furthermore, monetary union would mean surrendering the sovereignty of the State Bank, with the resulting loss of economic sovereignty.

Third: We have a chance to develop real democracy in this country, to create a grassroots democratic element superior to the pure parliamentary system. In enterprises and housing, everywhere, we must secure genuine popular codetermination through a system of councils. We are now creating new laws that the FRG could profit from too. The trade union and media laws, for instance.

If unification is to come, then only with recognition of the GDR and thus of its legal status. Otherwise all the former owners will come running back here.

'Secret Service Campaign' on Democratic Parties

LD0903163690 Hamburg DPA in German 1523 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The Hesse state office for the protection of the Constitution has evidence of a deliberate secret service campaign against functionaries and members of GDR parties. Hesse's interior minister, Gottfried Milde, told the Bonn-based newspaper "DIE WELT" (Saturday edition) that dismissed and active employees of the GDR's state security service as well as the Soviet secret service, the KGB, are intending to weaken the democratic parties smearing some of their members with fabricated disinformation. However, Milde did not want to rule out the possibility that functionaries of the new democratic parties might actually have incriminated themselves.

The problem for Western security services is that as long as the division of Germany continues and the GDR's executive bodies are not democratically controlled, it cannot be determined whether true or false information is being circulated. Milde accused the Party for Democratic Socialism, the Stasi, and the KGB of abusing this situation "to influence the coming electoral decision in the GDR." The presence of former secret service chief Markus Wolf in Moscow could also be seen in this context.

Government Dismisses 109,000 Stasi Workers

LD0803132690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1247 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Approximately 109,000 nonofficial employees of the former Ministry for State Security—this figure was confirmed on 15 January at the roundtable—were officially released from their duties today by the government. According to the government press service, the GDR Council of Ministers, through today's decision, is taking into account widespread fears among the population that this large circle of people could continue to carry out conspiratorial actions. The decision is also supposed to protect both the personal rights of former nonofficial employees and all people about whom they have information. [passage omitted]

Former Stasi Chief Released Due to Poor Health

LD0903194690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former Stasi chief Erich Mielke was released from custody on 9 March. The Prosecutor General's Office announced this today. GDR Prosecutor General Dr. Hans-Juergen Joseph ordered Mielke's immediate release from custody because of the 82-year-old's state of health.

The doctors in charge, Senior Medical Councillor Dr. Janata, consultant for medical care of prisoners and people awaiting trial, and Senior Medical Councillor Dr. Sc. Med. Zels, head of Berlin prison medical services,

had noted "a considerable mental and physical deterioration." This was due to age, as well as illnesses, in particular serious arteriosclerosis and communication impairment due to solitary confinement. Continuing custody could no longer be justified due to the high risk of acute life-threatening heart-circulatory complications. In the doctors' view, the arrested's condition would not change, not even under medical care in a prison hospital.

Irrespective of this decision, the prosecutor general ordered an independent body of doctors, to be set up in coordination with the Ministry of Health, to provide an opinion on Mielke's state of health. This involved possibly keeping him in custody, including within a prison hospital, and the ability to face interrogation and trial.

Alliance for Germany Supports DA's Schnur

LD0903191690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—The Alliance for Germany fully backs Wolfgang Schnur (DA) [Democratic Awakening] and rejects all attacks against his person. This was stated by representatives of Democratic Awakening, the German Social Union, and the Christian Democratic Union at a news conference on 9 March in Halle, where Wolfgang Schnur is the top candidate for the People's Chamber.

The representatives of the Alliance for Germany in Halle Bezirk said that the present accusations against the DA chairman had reached a climax in the present incitement and smear campaign. Its aim is to conceal the threatening election defeat of the GDR left and to fan fears among the population about the speedy introduction of the market economy and the unification of the two German states.

DA member Gerd Engelmann referred in this connection to the many recent provocations that ranged from the demolition of and acid attacks on businesses and threats of murder to public smear campaigns. "We have no doubt that the Stasi documents now appearing are forgeries," he told journalists. The question is when, after Ebeling and Schnur, De Maiziere—the alliance's third top candidate—would be maligned, said Gerd Wuensche, the CDU business manager of Halle Bezirk.

Backed by DA Party Election Meeting

LD1203022990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1201 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—Democratic Awakening (DA) Chairman Wolfgang Schnur feels encouraged not to capitulate in the face of slanderous campaigns. This was affirmed by the DA top candidate for the People's

Chamber in a greetings message to the election party conference in Dresden today. Schnur was unable to attend, due to in-patient treatment in a Berlin hospital. His observation that "the events have shown clearly that clean, honest, and democratic forces must take over responsibility in the country" was met with applause from the 450 delegates.

Rainer Eppelmann, DA minister in the Modrow cabinet, asked the party conference to trust the party chairman statements more "than the statements of former Stasi people". [passage omitted]

CDU Leader Negotiated With Stasi for Clients

LD1203022290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0825 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Christian Democratic Union Chairman Lothar de Maiziere says that he negotiated with the former state security on behalf of his clients in his function as a lawyer. In an interview with Radio Luxembourg (RTL) today, De Maiziere however rejected rumors that he had worked for the Stasi.

If, as a lawyer, he had wanted to do something for those "who were in Ministry for State Security prisons then he [as received] had to negotiate with those people," De Maiziere stated. He had come to "quite peculiar solutions in criminal cases" during the course of this. For example, after the Rosa Luxemburg demonstrations in January 1988 people arrested had been sent for "study visits" to the Bodelschwingschen Anstalten, a Protestant social institution for the disabled in Bielefeld-Bethel. Such solutions "had to be negotiated with someone," De Maiziere said. "But whoever maintains anything beyond this intends to slander."

CDU's Kirchner Denies Working for Stasi

LD1203023690 Hamburg DPA in German 1158 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—Martin Kirchner, general secretary of the GDR's CDU [Christian Democratic Union], has denied allegations that he, too, worked for the GDR's State Security Service. Kirchner told DPA today: "The accusation is not true. I did not work for the state security service either in 1971 or later." He did not consider it worth taking seriously when a news magazine "simply spreads such rumors quoting ill-defined sources." DER SPIEGEL reports that Kirchner was recruited in 1971.

The politician stressed that in the forefront of the coming elections it was "obvious to him that after Democratic Awakening (DA) and the German Social Union (DSU), the CDU also was not to be brought into disrepute. The three parties are working together in the "Alliance for Germany". [passage omitted]

Officials Release From Jail Criticized

AU1103204290 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT
in German 7 Mar 90 p 1

[Lutz Neubert: "Interjection"]

[Text] Is there not something that is disappearing amid the election hubbub? Now they are being gradually released—the "bigwigs" of decades of policy—who determined the people's welfare. Unfit to undergo detention—for health reasons. What do the "rehabilitants" think about these decisions. What do those "who think differently," or what do the "economic criminals" think, who got to know the "noble" conditions in the GDR prisons for hours, days, weeks, months, or even years? My question is: Have prisoners awaiting trial or after trial been incarcerated in our prisons without medical aid for decades? Obviously yes, because otherwise those who have been released because of their ailments would not be in freedom but in the prison hospital. Or does it violate our laws to ask these gentlemen's well-paid personal doctors to call on them in prison?

Politicians Participate in Phone-in Program

LD0803232590 East Berlin Television Service
in German 1905 GMT 8 Mar 90

["Thursday Conversation" phone-in program presented by Lutz Renner]

[Excerpts] [Renner] Welcome, viewers, to this live "Thursday Conversation" program in the GDR. We also want to welcome the viewers of the ARD program, "Eins Plus," which for the first time is taking a broadcast from our station and which will transmit it later this evening.

There hasn't been a Thursday program of this scope so far: Eight of our country's top politicians are to answer your questions, and I would like to start with Dr. Ina Merkel of the Independent Women's Association, who made it quite plain to us that women have a place here on 8 March [International Women's Day], which we understand, and that is why she is here. We also invited the leading politicians of those parties and alliances that enjoy the greatest support from the voters. The first of these is Dr. Konrad Elmer of the Social Democratic Party [SPD], which in a representative poll of Leipzig public opinion pollsters obtained 34 percent. Lothar de Maiziere represents the three-party Alliance for Germany, which would get the votes of 30 percent of those polled, with the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] alone getting 21 percent. De Maiziere is the CDU chairman and he is also deputy prime minister. Then we have Dr. Gregor Gysi, who leads the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS], which in the opinion poll received 17 percent. Dr. Bruno Menzel, is representing the League of Free Democrats, which has six percent in the latest poll, published today, and he leads the Free Democratic Party [FDP]. Minister Rainer Eppelmann is representing the Democratic Awakening, which is part of the Alliance for Germany, and thus shares the 30 percent. Minister Matthias Platzeck is one of the Greens,

who have three percent, as does the Alliance '90, which is represented here by Professor Jens Reich. Seven men and one woman, so the logical question today to you, gentlemen, what do you think of 8 March?

[Unidentified male speaker, presumably from the SPD] I would like to say that we can say that we are the only party so far to introduce a compulsory quota of 30 percent, passed at the party congress in Leipzig. [passage on quota details omitted]

[Platzeck] May I contradict this. The Green Party decided at the party congress in Halle on a 50 percent quota for women. [passage omitted]

[Menzel] We Free Democrats have no quota regulation, and women have every opportunity with us of assuming relevant posts.

[Ina Merkel] How many female candidates do you have on your list, Mr. Menzel?

[Menzel] At the moment we have only two female candidates on our list, not because we have limited the number of women but because at the moment we have not found many women who have said they are prepared to take on the responsibility of being placed on the list.

[Renner] Let us stick to the topic. I asked about 8 March and not about the quota regulations. [passage omitted]

[Renner] We have an enormous number of questions, on three problems in particular. [passage indistinct]

[Renner] We have a lot of questions that concentrate mainly on three aspects. First, what is going to happen to the GDR on the road to German unification—for example Article 23 and Article 146 of the Basic Law play a large role here. Second, how will the social future of GDR citizens look. And third, there are questions connected with the elections campaign [passage omitted explaining the two articles of the basic law] Mrs. (Walatsch) in Magdeburg asks: What will be the consequences of accession to the FRG in accordance with Basic Law Article 23? Mr. Krüge in Salzwedel asks: Explain how accession of the GDR to the FRG looks according to Article 23. Mr. Schmidt in (Teterow) asks: What are the advantages and disadvantages of annexation under Article 23? [passage omitted]

Let us begin. Your alliance, Mr. de Maiziere, if I understand it correctly, has professed its belief in Article 23 when the period of the elections was announced. Could you start answering this question?

[De Maiziere] There are two possibilities described in the Federal Republic's Basic Law. The one in accordance with Article 23—and if I may address a concept here, it says joining and not annexation, i.e. it is an independent act that has to be accomplished. And the second is the one you read in accordance with Article 146, where it says that the German people have to give themselves a Constitution. That means that a German nation would have to do this in its entirety. I doubt that 60 million

federal citizens are actually interested in having another Constitution. [passage omitted on why this is]

I think that most people in our country would like to achieve unification as quickly and as well as possible; and I think that this can be achieved quickly via Article 23 through negotiations. [passage omitted]

[Elmer] We said from the outset that after the election of our parliament, the People's Chamber, we will certainly urge immediate monetary, economic, and social union so that clear signals will be set and the our policy's credibility will be proved. But we believe that commissions should then be formed by both parliaments to discuss those matters that are essential before unification of our country is achieved and that then a declaration of will of both parliaments on unification can follow. And then it can certainly take place after about a year, at the end of the year or early next year, and can set the clear task that a national council can combine the Basic Law at a specific time with our ideas. The Basic Law is undoubtedly the most liberal Constitution that we have ever had in Germany and it should remain so, but it is certainly capable of being improved. I do not believe that a Constitution that has already been in force for many decades is not capable of being improved in some places. [passage omitted: discussion with two-thirds majority required for constitutional changes; Elmer repeats SPD line on reunification, and Ina Merkel agrees with him]

[Gysi] Articles 23 and 146. Perhaps, first of all, the statement is necessary in my opinion that the Federal Republic's Basic Law is not Valid in the GDR. We are now talking as if it were valid here and as if we had to decide in accordance with it.

Second, Article 23, of course, means annexation and also means adopting federal law. That means that it is no longer unification or a process, but entering into the Federal Republic of Germany. It will simply become larger. And as regards the conditions of annexation, they are very difficult to negotiate as in the end the Bundestag alone will decide on them. And in contrast with the Saarland there is no France that can conclude treaties with the Federal Republic and oversee unification. If we want to secure GDR citizens' legal rights, including property and usage rights, in international law, then we will certainly not have them secured by Article 23. One can only hope that the Bundestag is kind enough to decide that.

And then I am astonished by one thing, and that causes me some concern. I heard my colleague, De Maiziere, talking to Mr. (Weiss) where he explained—very convincingly in my opinion—why he did not want Article 23 but the other one. And when I hear him now that 146 would have to be settled on in the preliminary talks. [sentence as heard] And since the chancellor is insisting strongly on 23 there appears to have been a change of opinion here. I wonder, for example, why the chancellor does not want a normal process of unification but

annexation. By the way, annexation also means clear membership of NATO. Just to name one issue linked to this.

[De Maiziere] In my opinion, that does not necessarily have to be so. It is clear that there must be transitional measures before (?unification) is achieved.

[Gysi] Between whom then?

[De Maiziere] Between the two German states.

[Gysi] Yes, but one disappears after it annexes itself. There will only be a larger Federal Republic. There is no partner in a treaty.

[Eppelmann] I would also like to argue for 23 for reasons I would like to cite. I do not see such a great danger as that cited by Mr. Gysi because I start from the assumption that this will be a statement of intent by the People's Chamber. That is not accomplished in a couple of days, rather the two governments will then have to enter into negotiations with one another. We must see that it cannot be achieved by two prime ministers signing a statement and then it is done. All of us around the table here know that the two German states have developed so differently that one will really have to think about how they can grow together and not crash into each other. No one can have an interest in that. Article 23 also has in its favor the fact that we GDR citizens are not regarded as an object of profit for industry in the FRG. I know this. They are standing there. Capital is waiting to come in. The moment when the two German governments enter into sensible negotiations we are no longer just labor in another country with which one can build cheaply. Then we will be able to negotiate seriously, and indeed about the conditions in which (?this) can grow together, and then we will not be just a cheap labor country. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified male speaker] We have a great advantage of location in this country that we should at last market. The Japanese and Americans are waiting to be able to come in and our people are going only to the Federal Republic. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified male speaker] I have the impression that many people want to get to the Federal Republic very quickly, and I have the impression that many do not ask themselves whether [words indistinct] we must be united quickly so that this entire uncertain situation is ended. [passage omitted on absence of firm figures on numbers wanting unification]

[Merkel] [words indistinct] what the GDR citizens actually want. They presume that behind this united German fatherland, and so on, there is the great idea that we are one people and they all want to be together again. And they can all be together. I think that behind this united German fatherland stands something quite different, namely one wants a life in reasonable prosperity after having had a society of shortages for 40 years here in this socialism. This is, perhaps, a legitimate desire. And the

question is whether they achieve this by joining us very quickly to the Federal Republic or whether there are other variants and alternatives to this. I would like to point out that the Federal Republic is at last about to enter into an EC process in which the opening of the borders by 1992 is not the consolidation of national statehood. So we are bringing about something that is actually an anachronism, seen from an historical viewpoint. [passage omitted: Merkel on European unification process, indistinct argument about the state of the economy, and repeat of arguments about Articles 23 and 146; Elmer on importance of social union, and others repeat their stances on unity. They are interrupted by Renner and answer questions on a referendum on unity and the social charter]

[Renner] Mr. Boehme would like to hear from Mr. de Maiziere what the CDU intends to do for women and pensioners.

[De Maiziere] For a start, I assume that with monetary union and with the reduction of subsidies that necessarily accompany it there must be full compensation for the subsidy and that then the principle of the dynamic pension [words indistinct], so that in this way the development of pensions will be linked to the income development of the former colleagues and not, as previously, be increased slightly every couple of years as an act of mercy. [passage omitted: more on these topics and whether school meals will be guaranteed. discussion moves on to problems of property belonging to West Germans]

[Renner] Mr. Schmidt from [placename indistinct] would like clarification about whether Mr. Schnur was a former Stasi member. Frau (Basler) in Berlin would like to know how far one can believe the solemn declaration. And Frau (Peitschald) in [placename indistinct] wants to know if the question regarding Mr. Schnur cannot be cleared up as soon as possible [words indistinct].

[Eppelmann] Let me start with the last question. We, too, including Wolfgang Schnur himself, believe that this matter should be clarified as soon as possible and that is why he has instituted legal proceedings. This is one thing; and the other is that it is under consideration to approach the Council of Ministers and to obtain an exceptional ruling as far as the decree of 8 February is concerned that places all the files under protection. So, one cannot examine them at the moment, but in this case one can because the present situation is very awkward, of course, also for the accused, the lawyer Wolfgang Schnur. On the one hand it is being said that there are files that clearly prove that he was employed by the state security for many years, while on the other hand there is the lawyer's word of honor that this is all wrong. In my opinion, one cannot say much more at the moment. [passage omitted on whether money from the FRG for election assistance would not be better spent on health care]

[Renner] Mr. Herbert Behrendt from Sommerfeld has written a letter because, like many, he cannot get through, and he writes that the Alliance for Germany has announced its electoral program in Bonn. He and his friends believe that the fact that it was announced in Bonn was rude to the citizens of the GDR and he would like to know what the Alliance's opinion on this is.

[De Maiziere] There are two things to be said. First, some things still have to be discussed before it can be announced. Second, I have to say, the opportunities for the Alliance to be effective in the media here in our country are not exactly satisfactory and over there we have been effective in the media.

[Renner] Could you explain that?

[De Maiziere] Just look at Aktuelle Kamera last Sunday and see what parties are represented and how. Then you will see that I am right.

[Platzek] We analyzed this over the past three weeks and have already complained about it within the Modrow cabinet. Those parties who have stuck to the Roundtable decision—whatever one's position on it, that is a matter of opinion—and have conducted their election campaign without help from the West have, as is shown, almost no chance on Aktuelle Kamera. [indistinct interruptions] For us Genscher, Lambsdorff, Khol, etc. support their parties on the stump here in our party of Germany and were always present in GDR Television's main news broadcast. I find it most astonishing that Mr. de Maiziere is still complaining. We, as I said before, should be complaining. We are sticking to the decisions. We want to discuss and solve our problems with our people and have no opportunity to get publicity. We really have more grounds for complaint. [passage omitted on electoral aid from FRG parties]

[Renner] (?The time has come) to turn to the last topic. Mr. [name indistinct] in Berlin has also telephoned. There have been quite a number of telephone calls: statements on a coalition, on the alliances one is prepared to enter into. Mr. Elmer.

[Elmer] We will, I believe, enter into a coalition in any event. It is important that responsibility rests on broad shoulders, especially in such difficult times. And you want to know with whom. We will examine this on the basis of the statements by the other parties first of all, but the preference is to go together with the former friends in opposition. Here my glance goes to the middle, and very unwillingly with the former block parties who today don't want to be referred to as such. And we regret a little that this coalition with Democratic Awakening came about, because otherwise it would be one of our first coalition partners. But much can come apart again after the election, so let's wait and see. And if that is not enough to obtain a majority in parliament, then we will have to grit our teeth and negotiate with one or another of the bloc parties. I think not at first with the Peasants' Party of the National Democratic Party of Germany, because as is known these parties were founded by

people who earlier left the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. We would perhaps start with the Liberal Democrats, but on no account with my neighbor, although I respect him personally. We have no respect at all for his party, and here there is a clear division, even though we are sitting so close together today as it happens.

[Gysi] That doesn't matter. We are used to [words indistinct], you know. And I can state that in just a few weeks we have renewed ourselves in a way that no party in German history has ever managed to do. And the others previously don't know (?your) past. [Words indistinct] but what really worries me is that the SPD is not clearly excluding a coalition with the Alliance for Germany, which is also DSU [German Social Union], and that does worry me, I must say. Anyway, for us the question does not arise so I can't comment on it.

[De Maiziere] My party has also made a clear statement on a possible coalition with the PDS, a negative one. And to take up the word bloc party, I think it will be evident [words indistinct]. We should exchange our membership lists after the elections and see for whom the accusation is true and then we can talk further.

[Menzel] I would like to say this much about that. Today it is very difficult to make a statement of principle because behavior at the polls is so difficult to predict. I can, in any event, say this much. We are open to any coalition where we are convinced that liberal thoughts can prevail and be included. But in any case not with the PDS.

[Renner] Mrs. Dr. Merkel, how do you see this?

[Merkel] We have entered into an electoral alliance with the Greens. They are very close to the citizens' movements, to Alliance '90. We cannot make a decision in advance but only if we are asked. We consider ourselves capable of an alliance and see our role as mediators in opposition or, in any case, in representing interests.

[Reich] First, we are electing a legislative and constitutional parliament and not a government. I do not like people seeing a governmental election and looking for the lesser evil—when a voter does not want one party so he votes for another. And for this reason there should be no statement on a coalition here. [passage omitted: he rails against parties; Renner winds up the program]

Saxonian Entrepreneurs' Association Established

AU0803102790 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German
5 Mar 90 p 1

[NZ/ADN report: "Entrepreneurs' Association for Saxony"]

[Text] Dresden (NZ/ADN)—Saxonian craftsmen, tradespeople, innkeepers, members of cooperatives, and owners of small- and medium-sized enterprises from the

three southern districts formed the Entrepreneurs' Association of Saxony on Saturday [3 March]. The founding congress in Dresden was under the auspices of FRG Economics Minister Dr. Helmut Haussmann. He said that the FRG entrepreneurs hold out their hands to facilitate an economic start to a better future and to give the people a home in Saxony. He called on the GDR citizens to stay.

At a final news conference, Haussmann stated that the social market economy is internationally on the upswing. Now the economic development in the GDR must focus on the establishment of enterprises and on the modernization of existing firms.

*** Disposable Income Statistics Cited**

90EG0189B East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 24-25 Feb 90 p 3

[Article datelined Berlin (ADN/ND): "GDR Citizens' 167.5 Billion Mark Net Income"]

[Text] According to preliminary statistical data, the GDR population had a total net cash income of M167.5 billion in 1989, which is three percent more than the previous year. On a per capita basis, that represents an average monthly income of around M850. Of that, 72 percent came from wages and salaries, which was the fastest growing segment at 3.6 percent.

Income from social funds amounted to M38.2 billion, which included M19 billion in pensions. The pension increase that took effect on 1 December 1989 raised total pension payments by 2.8 percent. Cash income from pregnancy, maternity, and child benefits declined because of the declining birth rate.

The population received M5 billion in interest on savings, M0.3 billion more than in 1988.

In 1989 the population of the GDR spent a total of M128.1 billion to purchase goods, an increase of 3.5 percent over the previous year. Spending for services, including tourism, grew by 4.5 percent. This growth should be viewed in connection with the purchase of the DM 15 travel allowance in particular, for which the population expended a total of M245 million.

Savings increased by 10.5 billion marks, which represents 6.3 percent of net cash income. At the end of 1989, savings and cash holdings reached M177 billion, a rise of 5.6 percent.

Trade Minister on Not Jeopardizing Soviet Ties

LD1203043190 Hamburg DPA in German 1232 GMT
11 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (DPA/VWD)—GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil has warned against jeopardizing economic relations with the Soviet Union while developing the GDR. In a conversation with the North Rhine

Westphalian Economics Minister Reimut Jochimsen [Social Democratic Party] in Leipzig over the weekend, Beil stressed that the GDR supplied nearly one-sixth of all USSR imports. The GDR was the main foreign supplier of machine tools and construction machinery to the USSR. Through developing new structures these relations could be cut off from one day to the next.

Beil, according to Jochimsen, said that one great advantage of his country was, among other things, the estimated 800,000 Russian-speaking skilled workers. Also, the relations with far-distant socialist countries such as Vietnam and Cuba should not be forgotten. After all, a great number of the local skilled workforce was trained in the GDR and thus has a good knowledge of German.

Senegalese Patrol Boat Intercepts GDR Trawler

*LD0903102990 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1002 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—A Senegalese patrol boat intercepted and brought the GDR fishing and processing vessel ROS 336 Hans Marchwitza into the harbor of Dakar on Wednesday evening by armed force. This was announced by the press office of the Rostock fishing combine on Friday morning. Two Senegalese officers had boarded the supertrawler. It has since been learned that the 85 trawlermen are safe and well. Captain Heinz Scherbinski has protested against the claim by the Senegalese military authorities that ROS 336 had been in a position within Senegalese territorial waters on 7 March at 1908 [Central European Time].

Foreign Minister Discusses Moscow Talks*LD1103114190 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0730 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Interview of Foreign Minister Gyula Horn to unidentified reporter on the flight returning from Moscow on 10 March—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] If I am right, the experts completed the accord [as heard] by 9 March. You had talks with your Soviet counterpart for more than an hour on Saturday, obviously not about this agreement. What was the topic?

[Horn] We talked about this agreement with [Soviet Foreign Minister] Shevardnadze, about how we evaluate it, how this agreement fits into the entire European disarmament process and into the new type of Hungarian-Soviet relations. He said that this is an event of historic significance.

I emphasized that it is a new chapter in the history of the two countries. But besides this, we took one by one the most vital, the most concrete questions of these relations. We have to examine the elements of our contractual relationship and the system of links, which are far outdated. In connection with this, I pointed out that the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship and Mutual Assistance Agreement is outdated, and my colleague, Shevardnadze, agreed with this. We agreed that negotiations of experts will start soon about these matters. They will work out and adopt a joint statement that will lay down the most important principles regulating our relations according to the demands of the present era.

I especially emphasized—and quite a long dialogue evolved between us about this—how good it was to open the borders. To be more precise, mainly the border between the sub-Carpathian regions and the Hungarian regions of Szabolcs County. However, a nearly untenable situation has evolved there—black marketeering is flourishing and public safety is endangered in the region. I urged immediate measures regarding the matter.

[Reporter] Did the question of opening the Uzhgorod Hungarian consulate arise during the talks?

[Horn] I told him that we have been urging consent for several months, because the receiving country's permission is necessary so that we could open the consulate. However, we have not yet received any real reply. He promised to take measures with regard to this matter.

[Reporter] If my information is right, the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact are to meet in Prague in about a week's time. Did you discuss this meeting?

[Horn] Yes, naturally we discussed this, both at the plenary session and at our private consultation. This meeting is important more so because NATO membership of a united Germany and its status, and its adapting itself to European relations still creates a lot of unsolved problems.

Defense Ministry Spokesman on Soviet Withdrawal*LD1103193390 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Report on interview with Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, Ministry of Defense spokesman, by Budapest radio editor Erno Kardos; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We have known since yesterday that the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary will leave the country entirely by the end of June next year. Our editor, Erno Kardos, asks Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, Ministry of Defense spokesman, exactly how this will take place.

[Kardos] Has the technical plan for the withdrawal of the Soviet Army been prepared?

[Keleti] It has, of course, been prepared. When the two foreign ministers signed the agreement in Moscow on 10 March, it contained a plan that states the pace and schedule according to which Soviet troops will leave Hungary by the end of June next year.

To begin, the first Soviet military trains will leave from the Hajmasker [near Veszprem, southwest of Budapest] Railway station. These trains will carry one of the battalions of the Veszprem mechanized rifle regiment to the Soviet Union with some 30 armored transport combat vehicles and 300 soldiers.

[Kardos] Does this mean that the Hajmasker barracks will be evacuated entirely?

[Keleti] Part of them, yes, because this entire withdrawal, properly speaking, constitutes a gradual withdrawal. Obviously, technically it cannot be accomplished in one day, because the objective is not to disturb either commercial or passenger railway traffic, but it should be completed within the shortest possible time.

[Kardos] Can we say, therefore, that there will be no Hungarian railway delays caused by the withdrawal of the Soviets, and that if there are delays they will be due to other reasons?

[Keleti] That is probably so because the Soviet troop withdrawal will be coordinated within the capacity of the railways.

[Kardos] Soviet soldiers lived in Hajmasker. Will the housing be handed over to the locals? And if the barracks are evacuated, what will move into their place?

[Keleti] I cannot tell you now who or what equipment will be moved into the barracks and the housing there. The appropriate government commission will be formed and will decide who will take over the various Soviet military premises after the withdrawal. Naturally, this will have certain material aspects, too. It is also necessary to take into account the damage to Hungarian property during their stay here—what it was, whose renovation was neglected, and the condition of the

premises they built. After this, there will be a rendering of accounts which will be ready by summer of next year.

Further on Withdrawal

LD1103210690 Budapest MTI in English 1835 GMT
11 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—The pullout of Soviet troops is to begin on Monday, starting with a battalion of the Soviet Southern Army Group's Veszprem (W Hungary) Mechanised Artillery Troop.

The nearby railway station of the village of Hajmasker will be the site where the division's armoured transport vehicles, also involving 300 soldiers, will start returning to the Soviet Union. This information was given to MTI's correspondent by Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Defence.

Concerning news in circulation about the arrival of other Soviet troops to Hungary until the end of June, 1991, Col. Keleti had the following to say: Soviet privates who have completed their service in Hungary are to be discharged by the end of May, and will return to their country.

They are to be replaced by some 10,000 new Soviet soldiers by mid-June, but their number is much less than those being discharged. These soldiers will be joining military units which will be pulled out only after June, 1990.

The newly arriving soldiers will be manning the important combat and technical equipment, and whose service is indispensable for the planned performance of the pullout. Therefore it is not the case of an increase of staff but the required change of personnel, the colonel emphasized.

Details Announced

LD1203115190 Budapest MTI in English 1000 GMT
12 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 12, 1990 (MTI-ECONES)—Under the agreement Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn of Hungary and Eduard Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union signed in Moscow on Saturday, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary starts today, March 12, and is likely to last until June 30, 1991.

At the moment, 49,700 Soviet troops are stationed in Hungary: if the members of their families are also taken into consideration, the number swells to somewhere near 100,000.

The equipment over here includes 27,146 combat vehicles, 860 tanks, 600 self-propelled guns and 1,500 APCs [armored personnel carriers].

Material provisions are estimated at 560,000 tonnes, with 230,000 tonnes of ammunition and 100,000 tonnes of fuel.

Hungary would like to buy all the fuel, and is prepared to pay about 1 billion forints for it.

An estimated 100 billion forints' worth of assets will return to Hungarian ownership after the Soviet troops pull-out is completed.

The Soviets are claiming 40 billion forints in reimbursement for building work they carried out, but Hungary is insisting on a zero balance: There is, they argue, all the outstanding rent to consider for buildings Soviet troops used but did not actually build in the first place, and the free medicine and hospital treatment they have received over the past few decades, which alone worked out to about 500 or 600 million forints a year.

Fifteen thousand or so flats Soviet troops and their families vacate will also be returned to Hungarian councils, but most of them are in need of a top-to-bottom renovation.

MSZMP's Thurmer Receives Austrian Communists

LD0903225790 Budapest MTI in English 2034 GMT
9 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—A delegation of the Communist Party of Austria (KPO) held talks in Budapest on Friday [9 March], at the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee [HSWP].

The delegations were led by HSWP President Gyula Thurmer, and KPO President Walter Silbermayr. The sides gave briefs on the situation of their parties, and the home political events of their countries.

Representatives of the Communist Party of Austria termed it important, from the point of view of the future of the European left-wing forces, that the renewed HSWP is entering the Hungarian election fight with a pronouncedly left-wing programme. The sides agreed to continue the traditionally good cooperation between the two parties.

More Border Checkpoints With Austria To Open

LD0903225690 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The following news concerns Austrian-Hungarian relations: In recent days, the National Customs commanders met in Vienna. They agreed that 11 more border points will be opened in addition to the existing six.

It might seem that if a further 11 border crossing points were opened, there would be less traffic on the existing ones, less crowding. But this is unlikely because these border crossing points will not be on international routes on which there is a large amount of traffic. [passage omitted]

'Havoc Rules' at Yugoslav Border Crossings*LD1003225690 Budapest MTI in English 1934 GMT
10 Mar 90*

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (MTI)—Owing to the newly tightened customs measures of the Yugoslav government, havoc rules at both sides of the Hungarian-Yugoslav border crossing points in the past days, involving even the railway crossing point at Szabadka.

Several tonnes of goods have been seized by Yugoslav customs officials over the past two days from Polish, Czechoslovak, Romanian and Soviet tourists, mainly electronic and clothing articles, foodstuffs, toys, porcelain and furs.

The majority of the tourists were hoping to sell their goods at the markets of Novi Sad, and very few of them were willing to place their wares in deposit, or to abandon them in line with regulations in effect. Therefore most of them were obliged to turn back at the border.

Only on March 8 and 9, entry into Yugoslavia was denied about 3,000 persons at the crossing points of Kelebia and Horgos, including another almost 3,500 Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian and Soviet citizens who were detained at the Szabadka railway station.

State Secretary Meets PLO Representative*LD0903223190 Budapest MTI in English 1803 GMT
9 Mar 90*

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—'Abd al-Latif Abu Hijla, chief director of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization, held talks in Budapest from March 7 to 9. The PLO representative was meeting an invitation from Deputy Foreign Minister Jozsef Benyi.

The sides reviewed the developments related to settling the Middle East conflict, and current issues of Hungarian-Palestinian relations.

The Palestinian diplomat met Ferenc Somogyi, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry.

Envoy Discusses Middle East Policy, Oil Imports*JN1103160590 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic
10 Mar 90 pp 6, 7*

[Interview with Ambassador to Kuwait Balint Gal by Fatimah Mansur in Kuwait; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Mansur] In light of the recent developments in Hungary, the new policy of your government, your openness to the world, and the restoration of your relations with Israel, what is your current position on the Palestine question and the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to the establishment of an independent state?

[Gal] We restored our diplomatic relations with Israel, but we do not see this as important because our solidarity with the Palestinian people remained unchanged. Hungary's policy toward the Arabs, especially the Palestinians, is firm.

Hungary has supported and will continue to support the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the establishment of their independent state on their occupied land. It will also continue to support the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians; it has officially recognized the state of Palestine.

[Mansur] What is your government's view on Israeli and U.S. intransigence represented by the demand that the PLO, which you recognize as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, be excluded from the Middle East settlement?

[Gal] We have never recognized Israel's occupation of the Palestinian lands in 1967. And we will continue this position in our new policy. We are of the view that the problem of the Middle East must be solved within the framework of an international conference, to be supervised by the UN Security Council permanent member states and attended by the concerned parties, including the PLO. This is the current position of our government. Our political leadership has stressed that our foreign policy concerning the Palestine question, the PLO, the rights of the Palestinian people, including the establishment of an independent state, will remain unchanged.

Through our political methods, whether through our bilateral relations with other countries, participation in international conferences, or contacts and dialogues with Israeli officials, we help to achieve what we believe in and support concerning the Palestine question. In our talks with Israeli officials, we have emphasized to them our firm position on the Palestine question, and we have tried to encourage the dialogue begun among the concerned parties with a view to reaching a settlement of this issue through an international conference. [passage omitted]

[Mansur] What about the emigration of Soviet Jews and Jews from other countries to Israel and their settlement in the occupied territories? Do you think this will negatively affect a solution to the Middle East question.

[Gal] Democracy and humanitarian measures are required, whether in the USSR, East Europe, or anywhere else. In accordance with the universally accepted principles of human rights, including freedom of the individual to choose the place of his residence, the Soviet Union has allowed free movement of citizens. No one, of course, can prevent citizens from moving freely from one country to another under the canopy of democracy, which now prevails in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The emigration of Soviet Jews and Jews from other countries, then, stems from "human rights."

However, settling these immigrants in the occupied Arab territories conflicts with the UN resolutions and other

international agreements. The Israeli occupation authorities have no right to change the status of the inhabitants of the occupied territories, especially at this particular time.

[Mansur] The Soviet Jew who emigrates from the Soviet Union is issued a "laissez-passer" and not a passport, and he is deprived of his Soviet citizenship when he leaves for Israel. Do you not think that what is being done to the Soviet Jew violates his human rights and gives him no free option?

[Gal] The Hungarian leadership has no knowledge of, or official information about, the manner in which the measures relating to the Soviet Jews who emigrated recently to Israel are taken. Here, I can say that we provide for the rights of the emigrant, whether he is a Jew or any other Hungarian citizen. The Hungarian emigrant is issued with an international passport, with which he can travel to any country in the world and return to Hungary at any time he wishes, and he continues to hold his Hungarian citizenship. This law was approved by the Hungarian parliament. Here, I also wish to say that we in Hungary do not have Jewish emigration now, not to West Europe, the United States, or Israel. [passage omitted]

[Mansur] The Hungarian authorities recently struck a deal to import oil from Iraq. What are the details of this deal, and what has been done in this regard? Have you reached other agreements in this regard with Iraq or any other Arab country?

[Gal] Hungary used to import the oil it needed from the Soviet Union. However, recently, and to be more precise in the past year and the first month of 1990, there were problems of delay with Soviet oil exports and this delay adversely affected our energy supply. Because we have an urgent need for energy, and because we urgently needed a specific quantity of oil—200,000 metric tons—we ordered this quantity from Iraq. That quantity was shipped as quickly as possible. It is worth mentioning here that in the past, Hungary used to import small quantities of Iraqi oil, especially before the [Iraq-Iran] war.

The oil from the deal that was struck with Iraq was shipped on a tanker from Iraq to Yugoslavia, and was then conveyed via a pipeline to Hungary. This quantity, which we ordered from Iraq, was the first quantity of oil to reach Hungary via this pipeline. I have no information on other deals, and there may be other deals. Here, I can say that, with our move toward a free economy, when we cannot import the required quantities from the Soviet Union, we will import from the Middle East region. [passage omitted]

[Mansur] In light of your policy of political and economic openness, how would you describe your relations with the United States?

[Gal] Hungary's relations with the United States are good now. They have witnessed a major improvement in

the past few years, and are now becoming stronger and more developed. We have an economic interest in improving Hungarian-U.S. ties. It is in our interest to import their high technology, and, of course, we need financial assistance and facilities from the United States. Additionally, we in Hungary, in light of our general policy of openness, seek to improve and strengthen ties with the United States.

SZDSZ Protests Light Sentences for Ex-Leaders

*LD0703103490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Mar 90*

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] has complained to the military chief prosecutor about the light sentences handed down in the bugging affair. According to the SZDSZ, the military prosecution passed a light sentence, undermining legality, when it gave the ex-leaders of the Interior Ministry a legal censure. According to the SZDSZ, the crimes committed by the leaders of the Interior Ministry are extremely dangerous, for they disturbed faith in a peaceful transition and in free elections. The SZDSZ draws attention to the fact that after the elections the new state administration must operate openly, and that the internal organs must not be used for party political aims.

MSZMP Charges Nemeth Over Coup Claim

*LD0903185890 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] has reported the premier to the chief prosecutor. According to the MSZMP, the statement made by Miklos Nemeth in parliament that certain former county party leaders had prepared an armed coup in November last year was designed to arouse hatred against the MSZMP membership. For this reason, the premier has been reported for the crime of disturbing public calm, as well as for being definitely suspected of the crime of false accusation.

MDF Chairman Antall Addresses Szolnok Rally

*LD0903233190 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] Chairman Jozsef Antall met the electorate at an election rally in Szolnok. Imre Benko reports.

[Benko] [passage omitted] In Szolnok County, in the heart of the country, everything must be done so that everyone should feel all right, said MDF Chairman Jozsef Antall at the beginning of his speech in the packed county council chamber.

Jozsef Antall reaffirmed that the conditions for a peaceful transition are given. All this is thanks to the wise, self-disciplined, and decent Hungarian people. He

said this in contrast to Karoly Grosz who, I quote the speaker, considers the possibility of a peaceful transition to be a deception.

In connection with Hungarian-Soviet relations and our foreign policy, Jozsef Antall urged the creation as soon as possible of a sovereign and independent Hungary, which would join the great European institutions. He emphasized: We have a good chance to become a member of the European Council, thanks primarily to the MDF. We have to create associate relations with the EC. Time is pressing, for in 1992, the unified European market will be created, and we have to be within this. Hungary, whatever the view, has the moral basis to ask for leave to speak at every forum, for in the wake of the First World War, we lost two-thirds of our thousand-year-old territory, according to MDF Chairman Jozsef Antall, reaffirming his earlier thoughts at the Szolnok rally, which is still going on at the time of this report.

MSZP on Social Democrats, MSZMP Ties

*LD1003104590 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] alleges that in May of last year, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party, which was still unified then, asked for support from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], which it gave. Earlier, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary vice chairman denied the party might have received material support from the former state party, and said that MSZMP gave money only to the independent Social Democrats. The MSZP statement says that for the most part it provided the Social Democratic Party with services, not cash, last year.

MSZP, FIDESZ Hold Local Election Debate

*LD1003105990 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] [Announcer] In Budapest's Eighth District, Zoltan Rockenbauer, candidate of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], and Zoltan Szabo, candidate of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], put forth their arguments in a public debate. Erno Kardos reports.

[Kardos] The audience received Zoltan Szabo of the MSZP, as well as FIDESZ representative Zoltan Rockenbauer, with applause that was identical virtually to the decibel. First it was Zoltan Szabo, of the MSZP, who spoke on behalf of his party: His party is not communist,

but socialist, because it rejects Bolshevism, and history has proved that socialist-social democratic values in the West constitute a viable left wing. There is a need, he added, for the economy in Hungary to turn into a market one. To this, Rockenbauer replied that there is no longer any time for this. The Communists have said this for decades, and the reply to whether they abide by their word is the tragic condition of the economy. Rapid and radical marketization, privatization, is needed, he continued; it is necessary to build on those who dare to take risks. Otherwise, the reform communists recognized the need of the market only under the pressure of the opposition. The MSZP candidate sharply rejected this. He emphasized that the reformists had always wanted a market economy, but the Bolshevik leaders who exercised a dictatorship opposed the reform communists with at least as much vigor as the liberal opposition. There is a need for transformation, for private property, but only gradually, because otherwise there will be 1 million unemployed, he said.

It is not possible to simultaneously promise welfare and economic upswing, retorted Rockenbauer, since the one precludes the other, and neither is there a cure for inflation. It is necessary to take care with election promises that cannot be kept. Both agreed the biggest promise that cannot be kept was made by the Smallholders, who want to restore the condition of land as it was in 1947.

They continued the election debate with questions. The MSZP candidate asked the FIDESZ candidate whether the party that receives a lot of foreign support does not overcommit itself. Rockenbauer pointed to the MSZP banner behind the stage, which reached the ceiling, as well as to the small FIDESZ sign, and stretched out his arms: In spite of the foreign support, we only have money for this. Rockenbauer's question: What kind of connection is there between Lenin and the Socialist Party? Szabo's reply: We have already rejected a considerable part of Lenin's life work; we consider him to be only one of the Socialist Party theoreticians, nothing more. The next FIDESZ question asked why the MSZP does not give an account of its assets. The party gave an account of what it was able to, stated Szabo; it has handed over whatever buildings it could to the other parties, but this is a process, he pointed out. To the question of whether the Socialist Party's insistence on the rural papers was realistic, the MSZP candidate said that was so, inasmuch as was Viktor Orban's wish, that NEPSZABADSAG should be taken away from the socialists after the elections.

Parliamentarians Congratulate Lithuanians

LD1203012690 Warsaw PAP in English
2240 GMT 11 Mar 90

[By PAP correspondent Miroslaw Ikonowicz]

[Text] Vilnius, March 11—The new Lithuanian Parliament unanimously adopted a resolution on changing the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania into the Republic of Lithuania and a declaration on restoring the country's sovereignty.

The Supreme Council of Lithuania elected Wytauskas Landsbergis—the to-date chairman of Sajudis—its chairman.

The first foreign guest whom Landsbergis gave the floor to was Polish Senator Tadeusz Kłopotowski who arrived from Warsaw along with Sejm Deputy Henryk Wujec.

Speaking in the name of the citizens' parliamentary floor group, Senator Kłopotowski relayed congratulations and expressions of admiration and respect for the Lithuanian nation, addressed to "all deputies, irrespectively of their political views and nationality."

The senator recalled the message to the Soviet nations, Lithuanians inclusive, addressed by the Solidarnosc Congress in 1981. Summing up, Kłopotowski stressed that Poland respected all borders and awaited that others would do the same.

Landsbergis—who also replied to questions put by the Polish parliamentarians—stressed friendly relations between new Lithuania and new Poland.

Government Spokesman Responds

LD1203092190 Hamburg DPA in German
0851 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Henryk Wozniakowski, deputy Polish Government spokesman, speaking about Lithuania's independence resolution said: "Poland recognizes the right of every country to self-determination." However, in a conversation with DPA today, he also said that the Polish Government would first assess the new situation and its results. "The creation of a new state directly on our border is a serious matter, and will be discussed by the Council of Ministers."

Jaruzelski Interview on Future German Relations

LD0903165190 Paris Europe Number One in French
1150 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Interview with President General Wojciech Jaruzelski by correspondent Jean-Pierre Elkabbach at the Presidential Palace in Warsaw on 9 March; in Polish with superimposed French translation—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Elkabbach] Good day, President Jaruzelski.

[Jaruzelski] Good day sir.

[Elkabbach] You are receiving Europe Number One at your palace in Warsaw. In a few hours' time, you will be on a visit to Paris for political talks on the future of Germany, the European continent, bilateral relations, and East-West relations. In your opinion, is there tension today, perhaps a crisis, and are you worried about Germany?

[Jaruzelski] Obviously we have such fears. They are dictated by history, and unfortunately they are still being confirmed by present times. Here I am thinking above all of the last very conflict-ridden weeks during which the discussions have been taking place on questions which are extremely important, particularly essential, to Poland.

[Elkabbach] Chancellor Kohl has corrected his wishes concerning German unity, pushed by President Von Weizsacker, by Mr. Genscher, by the Allies. On Thursday, in Bonn the Bundestag adopted a resolution on the untouchable nature of the borders. As far as you and Mr. Mazowiecki are concerned, is Poland reassured this morning?

[Jaruzelski] Germany does not satisfy us fully. First, because it did not specify precisely which border was concerned: the Oder-Neisse line is not emphasized. Secondly, it omits completely a question as important and basic as the treaty between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany of December 1970. They come back over and over again to what they call the legal positions, which obviously mean that questions must be asked, and they speak in particular about the German Reich as contained by the borders of 1937. This is why I consider the declaration to be a step forward, and at the same time it still arouses our concern because there are misunderstandings and some avoidance.

[Elkabbach] You want the Oder-Neisse border to be mentioned by name, General Jaruzelski?

[Jaruzelski] Yes, it is a matter of going back to the fact that this border has already been recognized by the GDR and by the FRG in the treaty of 1970. The fact that no reference has been made to this affirmation is very significant. I would like to quote a saying which notes that words are silver and silence is golden—unfortunately this silence is not a golden one, quite the contrary.

[Elkabbach] Mr. Jaruzelski, you are on the same wavelength as Mr. Modrow, who has just said that the Oder-Neisse line should remain the line of the future Federal German state, correct?

[Jaruzelski] Yes, it is the first thing, but above all it is a matter of the preparation of a draft treaty which would be signed by the newly-elected parliament of the GDR, by the Bundestag, and by the Polish Parliament or by the respective governments, and this draft agreement (?after being signed) would be ratified by the parliament of the reunified Germany. I do not know why the FRG wishes to avoid this first stage by speaking about the second

stage, after the reunification of Germany. This is what one might describe as setting things according to the (?Greek calendar). [passage omitted: noting border problem is not just a Polish problem but is a matter of European security and peace]

[Elkabbach] Chancellor Kohl at the Bundestag has just asked you, Mr. Jaruzelski, to give up the idea of war compensation—will you give it up? What is your reply?

[Jaruzelski] I am not going to take up a position concerning war compensation. It is an altogether different problem, and I do not know why the chancellor places it in the context of the recognition of the Polish border. I consider that the question of the border is not a matter of haggling, of doing business in a little shop—it is a basic problem, it is a problem of the security of both Poland and Europe. On the other hand, there is another problem—that is individual compensation, committed against Polish citizens during the Third Reich, which is a moral problem. [passage omitted: Jaruzelski is asked about the amount of compensation required. He says it has not been added up]

[Elkabbach] Finally, President Jaruzelski, do you accept the principle of German Reunification, if Chancellor Kohl clearly recognizes the Oder-Neisse border? Is it also the Germans' right in your view?

[Jaruzelski] I am a Pole and a European, and obviously I consider the basic condition to be recognition of the border. [passage omitted: Elkabbach repeats question]

[Jaruzelski] We accepted the principle of German reunification a long time ago, and we confirm this as the right of every nation to self-determination. On the other hand, the rate, the form, the political context are things which are altogether different and this is what we are discussing. [passage omitted: announcing advertising break with resumption of interview thereafter]

[Elkabbach] Who do you fear the most today, where the security and stability of your country is concerned, Chancellor Kohl's Germany or Gorbachev's Soviet Union? I know you are giving a direct answer at this moment, so is it Kohl or Gorbachev who seems the most worrying. Tell me what you think?

[Jaruzelski] If you had not asked me this question in all seriousness I would have thought it was a joke, as the Soviet Union today is the fundamental guarantor of our border. The Gorbachev's Soviet Union, the Soviet Union of perestroika, gives us every possibility of resolving our problems in complete sovereignty and independence and in no way constitutes a threat to us.

[Elkabbach] But Chancellor Kohl?

[Jaruzelski] Chancellor Kohl is something completely different, and we would like him to stop being ambiguous.

[Elkabbach] Mr. Jaruzelski, a meeting scheduled between the four great powers plus two—the two Germanies—is going to be devoted to the German question. It will take place next week. How, and at what point do you Poles wish to be included in the discussions of the four plus two?

[Jaruzelski] I know that work on the program, on the scenario, of these talks has barely begun. When it is ready we want to enter into it at the point at which the question of borders is being discussed, and in particular the western border of Poland and the eastern border of Germany, and at this point we wish to be present. [passage omitted: Jaruzelski expresses great admiration for Mitterrand, remembers vividly his meeting with him in 1985]

[Elkabbach] Now in Paris shortly, this morning, you are going to ask Mr. Mitterrand to intercede with Mr. Kohl, with the allies. What do you hope for from this on the level of the international situation today?

[Jaruzelski] First of all, I hope for understanding, and secondly for support. I remember in another context President Mitterrand—when he was in Poland last year—said that he would be the champion of Polish affairs in the economic sphere. I want to note with complete satisfaction that the president fulfilled this promise. [passage omitted: Jaruzelski says Mitterrand understands Poland's aspirations and needs and will no doubt support them. Further advertising break announced with resumption of interview afterwards]

[Elkabbach] Mr. Jaruzelski, the French people are watching the historic stage which is underway here in Poland, with you in the presidency and Mr. Mazowiecki at the head of the government. How are you experiencing what in France was called a form of cohabitation, or collaboration, and do you think it can last?

[Jaruzelski] The cooperation is very constructive, it is a very constructive cohabitation. I have much respect and even empathy for Prime Minister Mazowiecki. [passage omitted: recalling recent meeting they had together to tackle problems jointly]

[Elkabbach] Why has the communist system failed everywhere Mr. Jaruzelski? Do you have an answer?

[Jaruzelski] There is a certain historic stage, and each has a beginning and an end, but none disappear without leaving an imprint. [passage omitted: historic examples—French Revolution, Napoleon, etc]

[Elkabbach] Thank you for reminding me about our past, but what about your own very recent past?

[Jaruzelski] I think that certain values of the revolution, which took place in Poland in 1945, despite all the mistakes, the errors which were made afterwards—and although afterwards it lost its chances of development—certain lasting humanist values, such as social justice will remain and will be adapted to the new circumstances.

[Elkabbach] But as a system it does not work. Do you know why, now that you have given it much consideration? Do you know why?

[Jaruzelski] Because it was not a system which responded fully to the rules of modern parliamentary democracy and, secondly, because it was not effective on the economic level; it exhausted its possibilities as a system which gives a greater return. [sentence as heard].

[Elkabbach] Are you still a communist yourself, Mr. Jaruzelski? Forgive me if I am being indiscreet.

[Jaruzelski] A communist is an idea which is defined in many different ways today. I would speak rather of certain ideas, ideas of the left, whether in the east or the west. They are universal ideas, linked with sentiments [words indistinct].

[Elkabbach] So today, General Jaruzelski, you are on the left rather than communist, a social democrat rather than a communist? [passage omitted: Elkabbach denies trying to put Jaruzelski into a classification]

[Jaruzelski] I do not wish to classify myself in this way. I am not a member of the party. I try to be representative of all the forces, to be impartial, to place myself above all the levels. As to my personal convictions, I retain the values which I believe to be lasting ones, which are the convictions of the left, or if you prefer, they are the values which also have been begotten by the communist movement. [passage omitted: exchange of courtesies]

[Elkabbach] Did the events of December 1981 deeply mark you or make a deep impression on you? Will you forget them one day, will you forget the part you played? Will the Poles forget it?

[Jaruzelski] Personally, I will never forget that time, those moments. For me it was a very dramatic time and a very dramatic decision, but up till this day I remain convinced that it was necessary and that it was the lesser evil, and furthermore I know from polls of public opinion that the Poles also share this point of view. It is not an opinion which goes just one way or just another [as heard] and history will tell us more precisely which way opinion goes.

[Elkabbach] But, it would be best, General Jaruzelski, not to find oneself in such situations again?

[Jaruzelski] (?I agree), but I must tell you that without those dramatic and painful solutions, taken at that moment, there would not have been the roundtable, and there would not have been the table at which we are seated now. I believe also that there would not have been many other things which are currently taking place in Europe.

[Elkabbach] We will end this interview, Mr. Jaruzelski. Thank you for having received Europe 1. Do you believe—because French people sometimes ask themselves the question, and they are going to ask themselves when they see you—is it possible that one day, when the

times comes, Walesa could succeed you in this office in which the future of Poland has been worked out so often?

[Jaruzelski] Certainly, what will happen is that I will not be in this office forever. That is one thing which is absolutely certain. When this will happen and who will come here, well, that is the National Assembly's decision, it is the nation which will decide, it is universal elections [which will decide].

[Elkabbach] Do you wish to continue?

[Jaruzelski] For the time being I am continuing. [passage omitted: on what Jaruzelski would like to see in Paris if he has time for tourism]

[Elkabbach] Thank you, have a good stay in Paris, General Jaruzelski. [passage omitted: Elkabbach courtesy remarks in Polish, Jaruzelski's response]

Geremek Interviewed on German Reunification

PM0903112690 Rome LA REPUBBLICA
in Italian 7 Mar 90 p 5

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, adviser to Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, by Andrea Tarquini in Bologna on 6 March]

[Text] Bologna—"I hope that this really is the last of the chancellor's contradictions. I hope than Bonn will remember that we in Solidarity were the first in the East to say 'yes' to German unity: The Berlin wall began to fall in Gdansk in August 1980. Since that time Kohl has provided assurances about the borders, only to backtrack and contradict himself." In Bologna yesterday, where he received an honorary degree, we heard what Bronislaw Geremek—number two in Solidarity and leading Polish politician—had to say.

[Tarquini] Are you afraid that Poland has been sacrificed to German unity?

[Geremek] We are afraid not for Poland but for European stability. We are disturbed that so many German political leaders are incapable of saying right away that to question the borders means threatening European stability and gambling with the European order and with Germany's own interests. The present borders were created after the war: At that time Poland had to cede to the USSR one-third of its territories and received territories from the Reich in partial compensation. Now they could change only as they changed then.

[Tarquini] Is reunification in any case a threat?

[Geremek] No, we welcome it. We have expressed the wish for it ever since our establishment as a movement—the Germans should remember this. Our anxieties concern not unification but how it is achieved. There must be involvement and guarantees by all the European countries, the 35 Helsinki nations in order to avoid—in Germany's interest, too—a repetition of the dangers that German unity created for Europe in the past.

[Tarquini] Is Warsaw not risking isolation?

[Geremek] No, we have received a great deal of understanding from the Soviets, and we are very confident about Mazowiecki's and Jaruzelski's visit to Paris. I hope that Washington and Bonn will understand us, too. The problem is that German unification is proceeding much faster than European unity.

[Tarquini] Do Soviet troops protect Poland?

[Geremek] I hope that the Soviet troops will be able to leave Poland when the situation permits. Their withdrawal is linked to the solution of the German question and the future of Soviet troops in Germany.

[Tarquini] With the collapse of the Soviet system, is nationalism not a threat to the whole of central Europe, irrespective of the German problem?

[Geremek] There are dangers, anxieties, uncertainties: first and foremost, the future position of the USSR—which faces serious internal crises—within the European order, and what position Germany will occupy within it. Will it be possible to organize the USSR as a federation of free states? I hope so, but I do not know. And how will a powerful Germany fit into the new order, averting the danger of the revival of the nationalist specters of a greater Germany? In this sense, paradoxically, we see a danger in the neutrality—and therefore the isolation—of a united and strong Germany. There could be a revival of nationalism in the GDR. But we hope in the Germans' democratic mentality...

Spokesman Declares No Claims for Reparations

LD0903191190 Warsaw PAP in English
1614 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn, March 9—PAP's Bonn correspondent turned to spokesman for the FRG Government Dieter Vogel with the following question: The press in your country has circulated various opinions on compensation claims of former residents of territories east of the Odra and Nysa [Oder-Neisse] rivers for property which was left there. Is the federal government of the opinion, that the future all-German sovereign would have the right to turn, in this context, to Polish authorities for reparations, or is the answer to this question negative?

The spokesman replied: Up to now, I have never heard opinions expressed by representatives of the federal government on the right to forward such claims and I do not think that this stand could undergo a change.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Wind Up Visit to France

'Diplomatic Success' Noted

LD1003051390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2300 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] We begin the news with a report from on board the returning airplane, from French capital to Warsaw, by Maria Wiernikowska, Polish Radio's special emissary to Paris.

[Wiernikowska] I leave Paris fully satisfied, Premier Mazowiecki could say before his flight. In truth, the French have [words indistinct] expectations. Paris recognized the Oder-Neisse frontier as inviolable, and will be striving for its partners to accept Poland within talks on the unification of Germany, of course, in those parts which concern our country. Tadeusz Mazowiecki wanted to come to Paris before his trip to America. I believe that we can count on the support of Gorbachev and Mrs. Thatcher, he said. I hope that the U.S. will also show understanding. [word indistinct] lightning summit meeting, there was no room for talks on the economy, although there would have been enough to talk about. France occupies a distant, seventh place on the (?list) of Poland's economic partners. [word indistinct] too far, said the premier. But we will be returning to this subject shortly, since—this is unofficial news—the premier will return to Paris on a working visit in a few weeks. For today, a great diplomatic success. The only thing lacking on the Paris-Warsaw plane is champagne. This is Maria Wiernikowska speaking from the flight deck for the First Programme.

Leaders on German Military Status

LD1003190390 Warsaw PAP in English
0001 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Paris, March 9—[passage indistinct, PAP takes 3-5 not received] Asked what military status of a future united Germany would suit him best, what alliance should it join, and what troops should be stationed on its territory, President Jaruzelski said:

"Luckily, though I regret it, Poland is not a superpower and what follows it will not be Poland which in the final count will determine the shape of Europe as goes for security, and strategic solutions. Of course, this does not mean that Poland can be indifferent towards these processes.

"I think—and I expressed this view at the meeting with the president—that it would be good and sound for European security were the process of unification of Germany to be synchronized with the process of unification of Europe and the process of ensuring a feeling of security to every country."

For his part, Mitterrand said: "Poles and Germans should discuss the settlement of the border issue. They are directly interested in this. It is for the 'four' to

express an opinion on this subject, one could even say that in some sense the four should also ensure guarantees for this international act."

Jaruzelski also said: "The issue of the border on the Odra and Nysa [Oder-Neisse] is not only a Polish problem. We are not approaching this from a position of street vendors who squabble over something which is or perhaps is not theirs. This is a fundamental historical fact. I will not of course dwell upon how it was implemented and at the same time this is a matter of life and death for our state. This is one third of our territory, one third of Polish society."

"One cannot speak about unification of Europe leaving open or questioning in any way the Polish-German border. One cannot speak about unification of Europe if two of the biggest nations in this part of our continent. If the eighty-million German nation and forty-million Polish nation do not reconcile. And they can reconcile only on grounds of respect of our rights, on grounds of confidence, mutual understanding. We are ready for this."

Premier Mazowiecki: "Our stance is such that we think that the issue of the border which guarantees, as we stress, good co-existence and reconciliation between the Polish and German nation, should be totally cleared of all ambiguities before entering into this new phase of the history of Germany, the history of Polish-German relations, history of Europe, which the unification of Germany will be."

"We therefore think that following the elections in the GDR but still before the unification, a treaty of a peace nature should be initialled between the governments of both German states and the Polish Government with the participation of the four powers finally acknowledging the existing western border of Poland and the eastern border of the future united Germany. And that the united German state, the government of this united German state, its parliament, should then ratify this treaty."

"We think that Poland should be present in this cause. The formula of consultations does not satisfy us. We think that at issue is not for us to be consultants but to take part in the settlement of this matter because it directly concerns us."

"Polish society is very sensitive to this matter, fears all forms of decisions about us being made without us, fears any repetition of some new formula of Yalta and that is why we think that the rights of this society should be respected, of a society which gave so much evidence of struggle for human rights and freedom of late, a struggle which also the Germans capitalized on in the direction of the said unification which is to take place. And we respect these rights to unite."

"This stance of Polish society should be fully respected. Finally, we think that we also have a historical right, as the first victim of German aggression, a participant in

the war and ally. If this is a conclusion of this war chapter and its consequences, Poland cannot be present per procura but must be directly present. We await full understanding on the part of the four powers."

Following the press conference, the Polish leaders toured the courtyard of the Louvre and saw the famous pyramid at the entrance to the museum. The Polish delegation was guided by President Mitterrand himself. The last point of the visit was a short visit to the Polish Embassy.

At the Orly Airport the Polish delegation was bidden farewell by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Alain Decaux.

Leaders Speak at Joint Conference

LD1003211590 Warsaw PAP in English
1844 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Paris, March 10—As we reported last night, a joint conference of the presidents and premiers of Poland and France was held here on March 9. Following are the final fragments of the politicians' statements (we moved earlier excerpts on March 9):

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I must stress, which I have publicly said on many an occasion, that I assess cooperation with Premier Mazowiecki very well. It is constructive, fruitful cohabitation characterised by mutual understanding and the feeling of responsibility for Poland's matters.

I am often asked what is the future of my presidency. It is a very difficult post, these are very difficult duties and I try to perform them the best I can and as long as I am expected to by the socio-political structure functioning presently in Poland, as long as the national assembly vested me with the duty and as long as public opinion polls indicate I can count on positive assessments by the majority of society.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki: I would like to say that the economic reform in Poland contains as if two elements, namely the element of overcoming inflation and stabilizing economy and the element of radically changing its structure. We had worked on the reforms since the formation of the government I am heading but they have practically been implemented since the beginning of last January. Thus only about two and a half months have elapsed since the start. To-date results include an unquestionable halting of inflation, stabilization of the currency, its domestic convertibility, and the first signs of change in people's attitude to work.

We will implement broad transformations of economy toward privatization, adjustment of economy to such forms and frameworks which are practiced in developed market economies of the Western countries, without forgetting, of course, about the social goals of economy, but I should say, to the greater degree in the sphere of distribution than production as it used to be so far.

We are in the process of implementing this very difficult, unprecedented project undertaken under conditions of

soaring inflation. We see very big difficulties we have already overcome and enormous ones still facing us.

I may say one thing. The impressive thing is the attitude of Polish society which perceives a chance for itself in the reforms and which bears the difficult period with great patience and understanding. As the government we are very obliged for this public attitude and we will do everything for success of the reforms.

In that sphere international assistance is very important to us, and in future the problem of reducing our great debts which are a kind of halter on our economy. We intend to solve the problems, some settlements were made in the Paris Club (of creditors - ed.) in February. These are immediate settlements but more long-term ones are also needed.

We discussed it preliminarily during today's talks but, of course, the international problematique prevailed. But our talks today are not the only chance to discuss that and we will also drive at intensification of the Polish-French economic cooperation.

I would like to thank here for the assistance granted to us so far, in particular for the assistance in personnel training. We will further intensify this. We care about the intensification of the Polish-French economic cooperation very much.

Return From France

LD1003051590 Warsaw PAP in English
0200 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—Shortly before midnight the top-level Polish delegation comprising President Jaruzelski, Premier Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Skubiszewski returned from Paris.

President Jaruzelski told PAP upon his arrival:

"This was a very intensive visit but at the same time a meaningful and fruitful one. I think that we sufficiently and clearly presented Poland's stance on key European matters, particularly the German problem. The French side displayed understanding and support for it. I think that this will bear fruit in further cooperation and will be reflected in France's position on matters which we discussed in Paris."

Premier Mazowiecki said: "I am satisfied with this visit. It allowed for a very indepth and comprehensive exchange of views and led to concordance on key issues. In the coming weeks we will have to turn this into political facts which will settle the most important matters for us. I return from Paris with a feeling that Poland can count on France's support on the international arena, like Great Britain's and the Soviet Union's. I hope that we will be able to count on the support of the United States and in the end convince Chancellor Kohl."

Solidarity Wins Opole Senate By-Election

LD1902150790 Warsaw PAP in English
1335 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Opole, Feb. 19—Professor Dorota Simonides [Solidarity candidate] won the second round of the Senate by-election in Opole province with 258,138 valid votes (67.07 percent).

Second candidate Henryk Krol received 124,498 votes (32.35 percent).

The turnout was 384,846 that is 54.84 percent of the eligible voters.

Solidarity Electoral Campaign Nears End

LD2002115690 Warsaw PAP in English
1048 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 20 (PAP)—The electoral campaign in the over two-million-strong Solidarity trade union is nearing its end. Delegates' congresses have been already held in most of the regions. The union is entering the last stage of preparations for its 2nd national congress. The national executive commission has set the date for starting the congress for April 19, chairman of the organization commission, member of the executive commission presidium, Sejm deputy Jacek Merkel told PAP.

The congress is to last five to seven days and will be held in Gdansk, he added.

Debates will be held in the Wybrzeze army sports hall instead of the Olivia sports hall, mainly for financial and organizational reasons. The hall's owners defined terms unacceptable for us, Jacek Merkel continued.

About 500 delegates, that is two times less than in 1981, will attend the congress. It stems from the proportions adopted at elections and from lower membership in the union. We have already invited representatives of democratic trade unions from the whole world, Merkel said.

We are not able to cover costs of foreign delegations' visits and our guests will pay for themselves as is practised in numerous unions in the world, he added. Journalists' accreditations are to cover costs of translations and press services.

As concerns tasks facing the congress, we will at last elect national authorities to crown the tiresome democratic process. Hence, if Lech Walesa wanted to run for the post of the national commission leader, he had to be chosen a delegate for a factory meeting in his department of the Gdansk shipyard, and thus to go through all levels subsequently.

The congress will work on the statute which requires considerable changes, Jacek Merkel stated.

TV Appointments Announced, Changes Discussed

AU2202114690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 16 Feb 90 p 1

[Report by Anna Bikont: "Television—A Vision?"]

[Text] Andrzej Drawicz, the chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, has named 40 of the 124 directors under him. All the regional television centers have new chiefs. Television will be fully reorganized in the spring. The compromise proposed by those who have produced a draft reform for television is: government television, but more than just government television.

The chairman of the Radio and Television Committee has 124 directors under him, and Drawicz has recalled 40 of them so far: 24 from the central headquarters, 10 from the regions, and all the correspondents based in the socialist countries (the procedure for recalling them will take longer: If they have children, they will work until the end of the school year).

Pawel Poop, the new director in charge of the personnel department, told us: "Before appointing the new regional chiefs we traveled all over Poland with the chairman. We talked to 'Solidarity's' ruling bodies, journalists, members of the artistic community, local authorities, the church hierarchy, and, within television, with unions and associations, and there were also meetings with employees."

Most of those who were appointed were journalists or editors working for television who had not worked during the period between martial law and 1989. Thus, Stefan Truszczynski, the head of the Warsaw Television Center, was working for the "DANPOL" Foreign Trade Company until recently and ran the "Solidarity" Studio program during the roundtable. Wojciech Sarnowicz, the Katowice chief, was making video films for the episcopate. Marek Terlecki, the Gdansk chief, spent a year in prison for underground film-making activity, and was until recently director of the Gdansk bishopric's video unit. Marek Markiewicz, chief of the Lodz center, was a trainee lawyer, and Barbara Pietkiewicz-Trzeciak, who was recently appointed head of the Wroclaw Radio and Television Center, had an ice-cream kiosk in Wroclaw zoo. Kazimierz Kutz, the well-known television director, has been head of the Krakow television center since 10 February.

Apart from those who had been "thrown out" in the past, the following were also appointed in the last few days: In Poznan, Marian Szymanski, engineer, technical director of television; and in Szczecin, Przemyslaw Fenrych, a journalist from NAD ODRA I BALTYKIEM.

According to Barbara Trzeciak, it would be worth breaking up at least part of the national network and leasing it on a regional basis: There are 430 people employed by the Wroclaw center, and they only produce half an hour of television daily.

Drawicz says: "There is a feeling among frustrated opposition, that nothing is changing; they believe that the time that they spent away from the committee entitles them to expect me to clean up the place so that they are comfortable. I will not do that."

"If you take a walk through the television building, it becomes obvious that without a fundamental reform of the entire structure, you cannot expect personnel changes to result in good television. The draft reform prepared by the team headed by Karol Jakubowicz is ready, and consultations will be held about it with the trade unions."

Drawicz told us: "I hope that the discussion will end by late spring. Then there will still be the Sejm legislative work to come, and we will begin to dismantle this strange structure before the summer starts. We will work out how many employees we need under the planned scheme: Some say that there are 12 percent too many, others say 30 percent too many, but there is no evidence to support this. Specialist skills will be the only thing that matters then, and we will not be interested in past wrongs or services."

According to the draft plan, a nine-person supervisory committee would oversee Polish radio and television: four members would be nominated by the Sejm and the Senate; four by the premier; and one would be chosen by the employees.

Asked whether television would shortly cease to be government-run, the chairman said: "We will have to find a compromise formula. The Jakubowicz plan is not definitive."

Social Democrats Start Biweekly Paper

LD2702234390 Warsaw PAP in English
1647 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 27—The Union of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (USDRP) brought out today the first issue of its biweekly "GAZETA WSPOLNA" (COMMON GAZETTE) with the circulation of 2,000 copies.

The issue brings the text of the declaration of the Union's founding group, the abridged address by Tadeusz Fiszbach delivered at the founding congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland last January and an interview granted by the Union's leader to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the evening of the 11th Polish United Workers Party Congress.

Conservative Groups Form Unity Committee

LD2802092390 Warsaw PAP in English
1648 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 27—Representatives of different conservative groups operating in Poland resolved today to set up an open organizing committee of a conservative party.

At their meeting here, members of the "Samostanowienie" (Self-Determination) political group, the Conservative Club in Warsaw, the Father Jerzy Popieluszko Solidarity Independent Social Movement, and other supporters of the conservative idea agreed that the committee's goal would be to build the structures of the new party and to win other conservative groups for it.

They also adopted a resolution on their participation in elections to local self-governments.

Stanislaw Plewanko "Samostanowienie" was elected head of the committee.

Party Chief Korwin-Mikke Speaks on Policies

AU2802113590 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE
in Polish 21 Feb 90 p 3,4

[Interview with Janusz Korwin-Mikke, chairman of the Union of Real Politics, by Romuald Teyszerski; place and date not given: "Freedom, Ownership, Justice"]

[Excerpts] [Teyszerski] Please excuse my ignorance, but the very name of a party usually suggests its chief principles. For example, if someone were to mention the National Party or Socialist Party, I would know right away what these parties represent, more or less. The name of your group however does not tell me much, unless I delve into history.

[Korwin-Mikke] Indeed, our name refers to the Party of Real Politics, from which conservatives, liberals, and the entire so-called national democracy movement later emerged. Politically, however, we identify ourselves with the right wing, the type of coalition that voted for Ronald Reagan in the United States. Of course we also have our "left wing" and "right wing." We have libertarians who want a free market and total freedom in every single sphere, and we have conservatives who also favor a free market, but one which should be governed by certain, I would call them moral, principles, which these conservatives believe must not be ignored when creating such a free-market economy with all its attendant effects.

[Teyszerski] Would you care to translate that into the language of our tired national reality, if I may put it this way?

[Korwin-Mikke] We are a party that demands the respect of man's freedom, but only up to certain limits and within certain limits. The ethics that we have inherited, Catholic ethics, establish one of these limits. But that is not all. We want a system of stable law that does not clash with ethics; however, this must be a law that does not attempt to regulate everything to the point of absurdity. All in all, there ought to be less law than there is, but if we are to have law, then it must be thoroughly respected. Look what is happening on Marszalkowska Street in Warsaw. There are signs saying "No Trading," but beneath them one sees a veritable "Persian bazaar" flourishing. There are two solutions, either to lift the ban

on trading, or chase away all the traders. The law however must never be exposed to ridicule.

We are a party that advocates the preservation of national values and the continuation of the permanence of the state, because we think that the nation is the bearer of the cultural system, whereas the state is the bearer of the legal system. I wish to make it clear that these two principles are quite separate. Today, the Polish state is identified with the Polish people, which we think is very bad because if a state loses its ethnic consciousness, it simply becomes extinct. We oppose the "nationalization of the people." Of course, we support a free market, that is almost a doctrine for us. I would like to emphasize the principle of free choice, which we advocate. That is the basis of man's freedom. If I want to go on a trip and someone else tries to stop me by telling me the weather is bad, and if in addition I do not quite know the way, then I can either accept these warnings or not. I can decide whether or not to make this trip, but no one has the right to forbid me to go, and, as we know, many people enjoy doing that. [passage omitted]

[Teyszerski] I assume the Union will nominate its own candidates for the next Sejm election. What will your election slogans be?

[Korwin-Mikke] Slogans are not important. The German liberals went to the polls with the slogan: "The quality of milk is governed by 297 rules," which was supposed to mean a struggle against bureaucracy, which was their objective. The French monarchists cried: "Fewer officials, less taxes. Long live the king." Slogans can vary, but the point is always the same: Less bureaucracy and state domination, more freedom and private ownership. Only private ownership makes man, society, and the state rich. If you want to have our program in the form of a slogan, then the slogan is: "Freedom! Equality! Ownership! Justice!"

[Teyszerski] Let us assume the Union wins seats inside the parliament. Where will it seek its allies?

[Korwin-Mikke] Among those who like taking risks; among conservative groups, of course. On the left, our allies are the Congress of Gdansk Liberals, and on the right the National Party, Labor Party, "Pax" Association, and Polish Catholic-Social Union.

[Teyszerski] What about allies abroad?

[Korwin-Mikke] We will seek our allies at home. As far as foreign countries are concerned, we can talk only of understanding. We certainly encounter such understanding in the groups linked with Ronald Reagan or Margaret Thatcher, or the late Franz-Joseph Strauss, but not in the shape of the Republican Party in the FRG. Despite appearances, all these groups have a lot in common with socialism. Although they express certain matters differently, they nevertheless want to control everything and deprive man of his natural right to make decisions and be free. Therefore, they basically extol their own brand of collectivism. [passage omitted]

[Teyszerski] Thank you for the interview. To be honest, I do not know whether I would like to live in a country governed by you or the Union. At least, no one would find it boring. But everyone is the master of his own fate.

Jaruzelski, Siwicki Discuss Religion in Army

LD0103220490 Warsaw PAP in English
1508 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—Poland's President and Chief Commander of the Armed Forces Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Minister of National Defence Gen. Florian Siwicki, head of the Main Educational Board of the Army Vice-Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk and General Dean of the Polish Army Father Col. Florian Klewiado.

During the talk the president was presented with a concept of implementation in the Polish Army of the norms adopted in the laws on church-state relations and on the guarantees of freedom of conscience and religion.

Wojciech Jaruzelski approved of the draft guidelines which create broad possibilities of religious practices for soldiers.

Katyn Protest Held Outside Soviet Embassy

LD0203194190 Warsaw PAP in English
1655 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 2: Soviet ambassador to Poland Vladimir Brovnikov assured us that he would hand over to the Soviet premier a letter with our postulates. Zdzislaw Dyduch, a member of the delegation of the Warsaw "Katyn family" told the gathering in front of the Soviet embassy here today.

We were received very kindly. The ambassador expressed understanding for the families of Polish officers murdered in Katyn and said the Katyn crime had to be explained thoroughly by historians, he added.

A 40-strong group of members of the "Katyn family" association demonstrated in front of the Soviet embassy today with banners "50th anniversary of the Katyn murder" and "Katyn 1940—truth first and reconciliation later."

The letter handed over to the embassy calls for the Soviet government take an official stance on the Katyn crime. In mid-October 1989 the Polish general prosecutor's office officially asked the Soviet general prosecutor's office to start an investigation into the crime in Katyn and elsewhere committed on Polish officers interned in autumn 1939 and imprisoned in Kozielsk, Ostaszkow and Starobielsk camps.

Nearly 5 months have passed and there has been no reaction on the part of the Soviet government. That is why we families of those murdered demand that the Soviet government present an official Soviet stance on the Katyn crime, the letter said.

Pietrzyk Reelected, Continues in Solidarity Post

LD0303233190 Warsaw PAP in English
2051 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Katowice, March 3—Alojzy Pietrzyk was re-elected chairman of the Silesian-Dabrowa Gornicza Solidarity Chapter in the fifth voting during the 3rd general assembly of delegates here today.

Pietrzyk received 246 out of 487.

Experts View 'Economic Shock' in Agriculture

LD0703135290 Warsaw PAP in English
0010 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—Poland's vice premier, Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz met here today with experts in agricultural economics to assess the situation in agricultural production and envisaged trends that may emerge in agriculture in result of the implementation of the government's economic program.

Prevailing was the view that reforms implemented since the beginning of the year have radically changed economic conditions of farming and resulted in many threats to agriculture. Numerous producers experienced a kind of economic shock caused by growth of prices for the means of production higher than expected.

Agriculture was the first to meet with the barrier of demand. Farmers' reactions to the drop in profitability of production and problems with sales of agricultural products are revealed in lower purchases of industrial means and limitation of husbandry.

Referring to the opinions voiced at the meeting, Leszek Balcerowicz underlined that the government plans measures convergent with the postulates. He added that we are in the transitory period towards free market economy.

Balcerowicz agreed with the thesis expressed by participants in the meeting that premature slackening of financial rigors would destroy the positive outcomes of the stabilization programme achieved so far.

Michnik Calls for OKP Unity Until Elections

LD0703143490 Warsaw PAP in English
1239 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Adam Michnik writes in today's GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity daily about a possible split within the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP). excerpts:

"The Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group has faced a split as a few deputies and senators proposed its meeting on February 28 to transform the OKP into a federation of different political options or associations.

"The idea to restructure the OKP is an introductory stage to the complete split of the club which has found itself at the crossroads and must make a political choice.

"It is not a responsible thing to call for urgent elections as one needs to ponder over the relation between these ideas and the Balcerowicz economic reform and Mazowiecki government's policy. It is quite clear to me that the call for elections means today political instability just when the economic transformations do need stability.

"A few deputies abandoned the OKP and formed the PSL (Polish Peasant Party) parliamentary floor group. I think it more sound and honest than transforming the OKP into a tiny diet of groups fighting one another and using the OKP authority to settle their own political purposes.

"I propose: let us wait with divisions. Let each of us represent his own, consciously chosen banner during the next elections. But now, let us all stick to the solidarity banner," the paper's editor-in-chief wrote in conclusion.

Walesa Holds Gdansk Press Conference

*LD0803232790 Warsaw PAP in English
2244 GMT 8 Mar 90*

[Text] Gdansk, March 8—As was the case in other weeks, Today's press conference held by Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa was attended by workers of the Gdansk region, this time employees of the commercial port of Gdynia.

Replying to questions about the process of reforms and the attitude of Solidarnosc towards the government and its program, Lech Walesa stressed that his personal support and that of the trade union for the government is in some way conditional. "If this was any other government I would have gone on strike with you at least a hundred times. But this is our government and that is why with a heavy heart I agree with it. I support it because there is no other program in Poland," Walesa told the workers.

To the surprise of his listeners, Walesa took a reserved stand towards both the idea of worker self-government and the "reanimation" of the Gdansk shipyard.

Walesa also recalled his stance on the issue of Western economic aid. "No one will give us anything for free. If we want to make a profit we must let others make a profit too," the Solidarnosc leader said.

Speaking about the issue of borders Walesa stated: "We must be careful that it does not turn out that it was Poland which lost the war."

The leit motif of taking to account the former government teams surfaced many a time. "These are matters which can be settled but one cannot open up too many fronts at once. We conquered the most diabolic system without breaking a window. It would be a great mistake were we to get down to squaring accounts and sleeping over the time of reform. There are many matters to be explained but peacefully, one at a time," Walesa said.

Walesa categorically spoke out against concepts of transforming Solidarnosc into a political party. At the same time he conceded that he would again allow the Solidarnosc banner to be used during local self-government elections.

"Solidarnosc will lose these elections here and there and if it loses to new parties and not to the old nomenklatura, then that is excellent. That is precisely pluralism. Unity was necessary when there was party monopoly which had to be toppled. Today one must share and organize according to how society is divided," Walesa stated.

Walesa once again confirmed that he does not intend to run for chairman of Solidarnosc. "I am not irreplaceable but I will not run away. If people will think that I cannot depart, that this is a patriotic obligation, I will stay on," Walesa said.

The Solidarnosc chairman took a similar stand on the issue of running for president. "I will not contend (this post) but our reform needs 'after-burners' and if I had to contribute to this, I will not shy away," he said.

Asked about the possibility of his complete withdrawal from public life, Walesa replied: "I know that my position and I myself are factors which stall reform. Such 'stars' get in the way. If I withdraw this will not be to make people think that I have made enough money and now I can rest. I will return to the shipyard. ...I want to serve Poland always and not get in the way."

Rally Held To Dedicate 'Timisoara Proclamation'

*AU1103160390 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1100 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Text] A mass rally began today at 1100 [0900 GMT] in Timisoara's Opera Square. The occasion for the rally is the reading of the Timisoara Proclamation, through which the whole nation is informed about the ideals of the December revolution in Timisoara. The proclamation contains only the ideas chanted in the streets during the revolution and the ideas that logically spring from the revolution.

From the outset, the public and mass media in Romania and abroad is informed that the proclamation does not include any ideas referring to the autonomy of Banat [the southwestern part of Transylvania]. On the contrary, firm opposition is expressed against such an aberration. The rumors referring to such expressions are malicious, and are aimed at discrediting the contents of the proclamation and the goal of the rally.

The proclamation takes a stand against all attempts to create social and national disunity, and coercion through intimidation and diversion. The initiators and supporters of this proclamation are the Timisoara Society of Writers and Journalists, who directly participated in the revolution, the Europa Society of Journalistic Students in Timisoara, the 16-22 December Confederation, the Independent Organization of Youth in Timis County, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Banat, The Whole of Banat Is Singing Association, the Romanian-Hungarian Friendship Association, the Young Ones, the Organization of Hungarian Youth in Timisoara, the Society of Young Journalists, and the League for the Defense of Human Rights. Likewise, the Timisoara Municipality Council, with 45 affirmative votes, 3 abstentions, and no votes against, endorsed the Timisoara Proclamation. All these groups are politically independent and are fighting for real democracy and for the defense of universal human rights and freedoms. None of these groups or organizations will participate in elections. However, they are united by the fidelity to the ideals of the December revolution and the wish that Romania should never again know the terror of communism.

This rally is not a precedent for other demonstrations and actions.

The slogans that have been chanted and written on banners during this rally are the following: Today in Timisoara, Tomorrow Throughout the Whole Country; Timisoara, Europe; Economic Decentralization; Free Enterprises; Land to the Peasants; Romanians, Hungarians, and Germans, We Are Brothers, Do Not Allow Disunion; and Appeal From Timisoara—Lord, Wake the Whole Country.

The rally was also attended by representatives of free trade unions in Timisoara enterprises and institutes, identified by the banners they were carrying.

At the end of the rally, the initiators of this event will hold a news conference in the hall of the Romanian Opera in Timisoara.

Our correspondent Vasile Emanuel forwarded this report to us one hour ago.

European Parliament Members Attend

*AU1103191590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1840 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[“Political Life—Big Civic Rally in Timisoara”—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/3/1990—A big civic rally took place in the central square of the martyr town of Timisoara on Sunday 11 March attended by 15,000 citizens or so organized by the “Timisoara” and “Europa” societies and the “16 Decembrie” confederation.

The participants carried panels expressing the wish that the ideals for which the heroes of Timisoara died in December 1989 should not be distorted, that the democratic process should be stepped up.

The Proclamation of Timisoara (a document in 13 articles) was read during the rally whereby it was showed that the revolution in Timisoara was not only anti-Ceausescu but also and categorically anti-communist. The authors of the proclamation, who took part in the events of 16-22 December, do not consider that the revolution has been accomplished, but that it should be continued, peacefully but firmly, the document reads.

A letter was also read during the rally addressed to the citizens of Timisoara by Ian Paisley, member of the British Parliament, and William McCrea, member of the Parliament of Northern Ireland, representatives of the European Parliament based in Strasbourg.

We will give further details about the proclamation in our newscasts of Monday, 12 March.

'Spontaneous' Demonstrations in Iasi 11 Mar

*AU1103171890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1621 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[“Meeting in Iasi”—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/3/1990—A spontaneous meeting took place in the Stefan Cel Mare Square in Iasi on Sunday, 11 March, attended by several hundreds of people representing various political parties, independent movements and groups that militate for a real democracy, for the safeguarding of human rights and freedoms of workers, intellectuals, pupils and students, by the striking journalists of Iasi papers and periodicals, by other social categories of a democratic shade.

The speakers were for the preservation of the memory of the martyrs of the revolution in Timisoara, Bucharest, Brasov, Sibiu and other towns in the hearts of all the

honest people of Romania, for the liquidation of the fear still persisting in the people's conscience, the exposure of the Securitate people and of their informers, the removal of former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] activists from state bodies, the punishment of those guilty of crime and terror. During the meeting, which took place in a civilized atmosphere, without violence, the people working in all the compartments of the economic and social life were urged to concentrate their efforts on the production of goods with a view to overcoming the period of crisis, to stabilizing the national economy.

Peaceful Demonstrations in Bucharest 11 Mar

AU1103191390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1813 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/3/1990—In a perfect order and impressive quiet, some two thousands working people gathered in the centre of Romania's capital city on Sunday, 11 March.

During an ad hoc press conference the organizers—leaders of the "Unitatea" and "Infratirea" trade union organizations of the "23 August", IMGB [Bucharest Heavy Equipment Enterprise], the mechanical enterprises of chemical equipment, of glassware, the "Progresul" footwear and leather items enterprise, "Aerofina" and "Vulcan"—set forth their major claims: five-day work week in conditions of an authentic autonomy of the economic units, the distribution of the assets and funds of the former General Trade Union Confederation of Romania (GTUCR) to the free trade unions, set up from bottom to top, at enterprise level, the lists of Securitate people and of their informers.

"T.U. [trade unions] Do Not Want Destabilization" could be read on one of the boards carried by workers. The demonstrators had an argument in holding that idea. Not far from them there were demonstrators of the people's alliance movement who tried to draw them on their side. The refusal was categorical.

At 13:00 hrs, the demonstrators dispersed.

A demonstration was organized in Bucharest on Sunday, 11 March, by the People's Alliance Movement, which had as starting point the Unirea Square. From there the demonstrators, several hundreds, headed for the government headquarters in Victoria Square. They scanned [word as received] anti-communist, anti-Securitate, anti-government and anti-NSF [National Salvation Front] slogans. On their way they stopped in the Universitate and Romana Squares where they observed a moment's silence in the memory of the victims of the December revolution.

At the time of our newscast, the demonstration, unauthorized, proceeds peacefully, causing no problems to the public order bodies.

PNUC Session Meets, Roman Addresses Questions

AU0903121790 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1100 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpts] As reported, the Provisional National Unity Council is holding a session at the Parliament Palace today. [passage omitted]

In the first part of the session, Prime Minister Petre Roman answered questions asked by the Council's members at the 23 February session.

One part of the answers dealt with agricultural problems: the farmers situation toward lands, the organization of agricultural activity in this period, and ensuring of technical-organizations conditions for this period.

The prime minister emphasized that economic reorientation is the only means to improve activities in all areas, primarily industrial activity. The government has already taken a number of measures to liberalize domestic structures and foreign cooperation. Thus, it is promoting the law on free initiative and on attracting foreign capital; on decentralization, on ensuring the profitability of economic units, on giving an incentive to scientific-technical creativity, and on the institution of a new administration (?charter) that will guarantee activities through economic and not administrative levers.

A major part of the answers provided by the prime minister dealt with the transition to a market-oriented economy. He specified that a special commission is studying ways and means to implement this goal.

In connection with measures for (?draining) excess monetary funds, Mr. Petre Roman informed the Provisional Council that efforts are being made to ensure consumer goods for the market, from both domestic resources and imports; to broadly develop the sector of public services; to build housing and recreational houses; and ensure a possible public loan system through state-guaranteed bonds. In order to combat unemployment early retirement and a five-day work week will be introduced, investments will be continued in profitable areas, and programs for re-technologization of the economy and for improving the training level of workers will be initiated.

Answering another question, the prime minister rejected the idea that there are privileges in Romanian-French relations. Mr. Petre Roman specified that our country is also maintaining positive relations of cooperation with numerous other Western countries, primarily with the FRG, Spain, Italy, and other countries.

The session then continued with discussions on the reports presented by the prime minister and the minister of agriculture and food industry at the 23 February Council session.

During the interval, the representatives of the political parties will make proposals to complete the composition of the Executive Bureau. It is envisaged that, when the

session is resumed in the afternoon, the decree-law on the election of the Parliament and of the president will be examined.

Refutes Preference for France

AU0903131490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1230 GMT 9 Mar 90

["PNUC Session"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/3/1990—Representatives of several political parties suggested that before the items on the agenda are considered, attention be given to the filling of the vacancies of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Executive Board. Upon the proposal of the president of the Executive Bureau's Council, Mr Ion Iliescu, a decision was made to stick to the agenda.

Consequently, the prime minister, Mr Petre Roman answered the questions in the previous session, of which four came from political parties, six from Provisional National Unity County Councils, and four from PNUC commissions.

Petre Roman said that "to destroy the present structures in agriculture would lead to failure to fulfill the aims of this agricultural year."

On the basic problems of industry, the prime minister said that it was essential to reorient the economy and that that was the only way the national economy could take to get out of its inherited difficult state. In context, he also spoke about the government's concerns to liberalize certain industrial structures, decentralize activities and implement a programme for a gradual transition to the market economy.

During the debates on the first item on the agenda, Prime Minister Petre Roman said that the government contemplated a meeting scheduled for 19 March to discuss an outline of the economic activity in 1990.

Premier Petre Roman said there was a certain invitation for a visit to West Germany, thus answering a question on France's apparently privileged position regarding Romania.

France was one of the countries which has given Romania very fast assistance, but West Germany has done the same, even more substantially from a material point of view, Roman stated.

There are no laws favouring France, Mr Roman pointed out, also showing that he visited France so soon because he had received the invitation as early as 10 January.

We do not sell our country, stated Premier Petre Roman while interpellated during the session with regard to the status of foreign capital in Romania. He underscored that only if the government agreed could foreign societies with full capital be set up.

Excluding the possibility of subjugating Romania to foreign capital, the prime minister showed that the new regulations regarding joint companies were apt to help Romania remake its technological potential compromised during the dictatorship, but it was not a matter of foreign capital's penetration into the public sector, in transport and telecommunications, in other branches and enterprises of a strategic importance.

A public loan covered by obligations guaranteed by the state and the immediate extension of private individual or collective investment to housing construction, rest houses and other projects in the domain can play an essential role in absorbing the mass supply the people possess, specified Premier Petre Roman, while interpellated during the PNUC session.

With the report the prime minister and the minister of agriculture and the food industry read during the Council session of February 23 as a basis, a large number of council members took the floor saying that the prime minister's report and answers to interpellations had been objective, that the government had not been able to take more radical economic steps given its provisional status. Hence, the speakers expressed their wish that the elections be held as soon as possible so that the future government may work from "more favourable" positions.

County representatives called on ministries for greater support in the supply with raw and subsidiary materials, spare parts, fertilizers and seeds for agriculture.

During the debates on the prime minister's address, a representative of the Liberal Socialist Party proposed that efficient measures be taken to retrieve the substantial hard currency funds Romania lent to Third World countries.

In answer to that statement, Mr Iliescu informed the participants in the session that steps had been taken toward the authorities in Libya and Iran to pay back the sums they owed to Romania. It was covenanted that, on the account of the debt, the quantities of oil delivered to Romania be increased to the level of fully covering the credits granted.

Discusses Electoral Law, Adjourns

AU0903205390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1949 GMT 9 Mar 90

["PNUC Session"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] The National Provisional Unity Council [PNUC] started in its afternoon meeting the debate by articles of the draft decree-law on the election of the parliament and of Romania's president.

The meeting is presided over by PNUC President Ion Iliescu who mentioned that the bill had been debated for six weeks by the PNUC legal and constitutional commission and representatives of the political parties and

formations and, in a final stage, by the whole public opinion, after the draft decree-law had been released in the press.

Although heated, sometimes contradictory, discussions on the provision of the new decree-law on the election of the parliament and Romania's president take shape mostly as regards the basis principles which make the foundation of the country's governing.

The first articles of the future law, approved with an overwhelming majority, read:

"Political power in Romania belongs to the people and is exercised according to the principles of democracy, freedom and human dignity, of inviolability and inalienability of basic human rights.

"Romania is governed on the basis of a multiparty democratic system and of the separation of the legal, executive and judicial power.

"Romania's parliament, made up of the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate, and Romania's president are elected by universal, free, direct and secret vote, freely expressed."

On the item in the voting bill referring to the presence of the national minorities in the parliament, the representative of the Magyars' Democratic Union of Romania read out an MTI news item on a meeting of the same theme in the Hungarian parliament. The voting bill in Hungary stipulates that every national minority in that country should get only one deputy seat, and the principle of proportionality should not be taken into account. A deputy of the minorities in that country stressed in his address that if the nationalities would not be represented in the new Hungarian parliament, the Hungarians would have no ground to protect the Magyar minority abroad, MTI mentioned.

During the debates on the decree-law on the election of the parliament and Romania's president, a controversial problem was the proposal made by a member of the National Salvation Front Council that article 6 of the decree-law should be added a paragraph showing that 15 senate seats should be held by military nominated by the Higher Army Council. Several speakers supported the proposal saying that the army plays an important part in the state, but other speakers rejected the proposal showing that the army is an institution which should not be involved in politics.

With an overwhelming majority of votes, the participants in the session decided that the military should not be included in Romania's Senate.

The debates on the electoral bill continued to article 6 when it was decided to adjourn the session and resume it on Saturday morning.

From the controversial problems mention deserves those referring to extending articles 4 and 6 which stipulate, in

the first case, the representation of the national minorities in the parliament. It was decided to give one seat ex officio to each minority constituted until the approval of the electoral bill, when it has no elected representative. In the second case, the amendment on increasing the number of senate seats by including 15 military was rejected.

Poor Attendance Delays Resumption

*AU1003150890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1012 GMT 10 Mar 90*

["PNUC Session"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/3/1990—The session that was to be resumed today was adjourned since the necessary majority of members was not present. The session was rescheduled for Tuesday, 13 March 1990.

Resumes Discussion on Market Economy

*AU1003170390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1140 GMT 10 Mar 90*

["PNUC Session"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/3/1990—The session of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] is to be resumed in plenum this morning. It was adjourned Friday night after debates on the first six articles of the voting bill. Today's agenda also includes debates on another seven normative acts advanced by the Council's Executive Bureau. Yesterday Prime Minister Petre Roman answered a number of interpellations presenting the way in which the government wants to solve the questions related to the transition to a market economy, the reorganization of agriculture, the stimulation of technical and scientific creativity, the development of economic cooperation with other countries.

The members of the council raised a number of questions that need to be solved as soon as possible or studied with a view to finding solutions: unemployment among the young people, the inertia of the administrative apparatus in eliminating centralism and promoting initiative, the accuracy of the assessments made by the press. A disputed issue was the form of ownership of the land.

The ministers of foreign trade and agriculture, respectively, as well as the chairman of the National Commission of Statistics read brief accounts. Here are a few data of general interest: Romania has to receive from a number of developing countries credits worth 2.4 billion dollars; part of them are to be paid back in oil; exports of foodstuffs have been completely ceased; work is on on a bill regarding pensions for peasants; a new statute of free association of producers is also being elaborated; the imports of meat contracted for the first quarter of this year stand at 185 thousand tonnes; the fodder imported provide for bringing the home production of poultry meat and eggs, pork, and milk back to normal.

Both the balance of foreign payments, burdened by the aforementioned imports, and the balance of home payments, also burdened by the maintenance of state prices are serious reasons for concern, stressed Premier Petre Roman yesterday in his answers to interpellations. The only viable solution is the economic reorientation towards the immediate liberalization of internally operating structures and of foreign cooperation, after a thorough analysis of the transition to a market economy. This is not an option of the government alone, but also a nationwide consensus. Any delay would raise the moral cost of transition. There are two types of transition: gradual and shock. An analysis is under way which outlines the idea that the transition to a market economy requires a first stage of up to three years, followed by another one of five years pursuing the modernization of the national economy, the premier also said.

The prime minister also showed that on behalf of the government he accepted an adverse balance which is inevitable in a situation in which the deficit of foodstuffs and raw materials has disrupted the economic mechanism. To recover the economy we must revitalize structures able to manufacture products to be exported, and not only for convertible currency but also for eastern currency as Romania imports large quantities of raw materials from this zone. The branches able to export their products are the light industry, the chemical industry certain highly processed products, machine building, constructions in third countries.

Mr. Roman also spoke for providing consumer goods requested by the population, both from home production and imported. He admitted that that would lead to a more adverse balance of foreign payments, but was of the opinion that on an internal plane we would have much more to gain.

As for investments the premier showed that several of those already started would be continued. In view are those ensuring an immediate profitability: tourism, housebuilding, the finalization of productive units or socioeconomic projects.

Answering interpellations formulated in connection with the report he read during the 23 February PNUC session, the premier stressed yesterday that the huge and in several cases even insurmountable difficulties in industry, make agriculture vital for the short-range evolution of the economy.

Mr. Roman specified that three million hectares, that is 30 per cent of the country's arable area, had been leased to the peasants. Despite contrary opinions of some political parties, the government is of the opinion that the essential goal of this drive is that the land should be tilled with a feeling of free utilization which actually means the long-term, unlimited utilization of the land.

By ceasing the export of fertilizers, the premier also stressed, roughly 250 kgs active substance are provided for each hectare, which is far from the average recorded in advanced countries. Pest killers, which did not exist

last year, are also ensured amounting to 100 million dollars. The total hard currency effort stands at 500 million dollars, which can ensure this year a harvest of 20 million cereals, as to the 16.9 million tonnes yielded in 1989. The effect would be the complete liquidation of the import of basic foodstuffs and fodder, the restoration of Romania's dignity of traditional agricultural producer.

Fodder worth 350 million dollars has been imported for the animal breeding sector. This amount does not include the sums allotted to the direct import of foodstuffs which stands at 800 million dollars this year, Mr. Roman also said.

During the debates on questions related to agriculture, several party leaders were firmly for land to be given to peasants.

The PNUC President brought two counterarguments: the allotment of land made now would disorganize agriculture and the division of the land will not favour the efficiency of agriculture. Starting from this Mr. Iliescu suggested that that stringent question should not be approached and solved at the beginning of this agricultural year nor for the benefit of a political party which could thus gain a substantial electoral capital.

Most of the members of the council agreed that the problem was extremely complex and requested a realistic approach on the basis of thorough studies.

Here are opinions on the yesterday's debates within the Provisional National Unity Council on the passage to a market economy and the role of the provisional government in this process:

Alexandru Birladeanu, PNUC member: the passage to a market economy is the only thing we can do. But it is impossible to do it by leaps. Certainly, we must not delay this process, we must not waste time. In all countries the market economy has been set up along hundreds of years. With us, this process, controlled on the basis of a precise conception, could last several years. Maybe 5 or 6. Not to waste time, since we live the economy day by day, the provisional government must work out several long-range measures going beyond its mandate but opening some gates for the future government. To put it as a joke, I could say that Mr. Roman tried to elaborate of mini-strategy for a mini-parliament.

Radu Cimpeanu, National Liberal Party: I believe in the market economy. I agree with the general orientations formulated by the prime minister. They are good. But I would have gone a little farther, pursuing two directions: first, the assertion rural ownership, that is the peasants' property in which I believe, even if this peasant property must be adapted to reality and analysed carefully, but is must be stated. Second, the two decrees to which the prime minister referred: for the stimulation of foreign investment and private initiative, respectively. I have considered the latter insufficient and impossible to be

translated into fact because it has too many interdictions, so that the people willing to set up their own enterprise give up in the meantime. With the amendments which remove the restrictions of this law and enlarge the number of employees I think the law is good. The government must tend to the liberalization of the economy and I think that the elections will not make people trust a government that will not pursue such a liberalization. Liberalization is the only way out of the collectivist deadlock we are in.

Ion Diaconescu, Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party: I think that the passage to a market economy can be made only gradually, since the discrepancy between an economy nationalized to the highest degree and a market economy apt to use a revolutionary method is too big. I think that we need a progressive method for the next two years or so. As far as major questions, and more particularly foreign pledges, are concerned this government should not engage itself too much as this would damage the position of the future government. Therefore a programme of reforms should concern only minor questions.

Broaches Attendance Problem

AU1003195990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1827 GMT 10 Mar 90

["Official Events: Meeting of PNUC Executive Bureau"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/3/1990—After the postponement of the PNUC session because of poor attendance (less than two thirds of the total), a meeting of the Executive Bureau took place Saturday, 10 March, which discussed how to avert such situations in future.

Communist Executive Committee Members Arrested

AU0503134090 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 25 Feb 90 p 1

[Emil Munteanu article: "A last Minute Piece of News: Three More 'Colleagues' of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Have Been Arrested"]

[Text] On Wednesday, 21 February, the last three were arrested: Ioan Toma, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [CEPEEX]; on 22 February Iosif Szasz, candidate member, and Paul Niculescu Mizil (23 February), full member of the Political Executive Committee. Many of the questions we asked ourselves, particularly during the trial of the four "figures" of the Ceausescu political activity, are therefore answered. Why so late? The responsible officials in the General Prosecutor's Office specified that the people in question have not been spared investigation, that, on the contrary, from 22 December up to now, they have been subjected to thorough questioning, thus guaranteeing

proceedings in accordance with legal provisions. The defenses formulated by them were verified, and verified again, and the conclusion was reached that they lack substance. In this case, judicial proceedings followed their normal course and now the three have been arrested. The reason? Complicity in genocide. As you can see, even witnesses—we are referring especially to Paul Niculescu Mizil, cited as witness in the trial of the four—can "trade docks" in "favor" of the defendants' docks!

Timisoara Genocide Trial Continues

AU0803193890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1811 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—The sixth session of the trial the 21 persons stand for abetting genocide, favouring genocide and other offences committed in Timisoara during the December 1989 revolution took place on Thursday [8 March].

The minute and painstaking examination continued with other two defendants: Gheorghe Tudoroaie and Tinu Radu, former deputy chiefs of Timis County Securitate. They had been on the security command made up on December 17, 1989 and headed by General Emil Macri, former chief of the State Security Department's Second Direction of Economic Counterintelligence.

The defendants' declarations, the numerous questions posed by the president of the court, the prosecutor, and the lawyers, and the answers of the defendants disclosed new general data and significant details regarding the organization and unfolding of the repression of the revolution in Timisoara, the contribution of the group of former Securitate and militia officers under accusation to suppressing the peaceful demonstrations against the dictatorship.

The next session will take place Friday, March 9, when the Supreme Court of Law continues the examination of other defendants.

Additional Cadres Examined

AU0903212490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1955 GMT 9 Mar 90

["Timisoara Trial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] The trial started a week ago of the 21 persons that stand charges of abetting genocide, assisting genocide, and other offences committed during the December 1989 revolution in Timisoara, continued Friday [9 March] with the examination of other two former responsible cadres of Ceausescu's repressive machine: Ioan Deheleanu, former chief of Timis County Militia, and his deputy Ioan Corpodeanu.

The two defendants participated in their former capacities at that time in the actions for the repression of the revolution, sending in the streets the repressive staff subordinated to them, contributed to the organization in

various zones of the city of the devices of fight against the revolutionary mass. The charges against them also include the participation, under the command of the former deputy minister of the interior Constantin Nuta, in the spiriting away from the Timis County Hospital Mortuary of 40 bodies that were then carried and cremated at the "Cenusa" crematory in Bucharest to the end of erasing the traces of the genocide.

The next session takes place Saturday, March 10.

Fazekas Interview on Hungarian Minority Rights

AU0803143790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 7 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on Interview with Janos Fazekas, former member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and former Romanian deputy premier, by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas in Budapest; date not given: "We Have the Right to Our National Survival"]

[Text] Janos Fazekas is 64 years old this year. As a youngster, he joined the antifascist movement in Szeke-lyfold, and, after the liberation, he occupied increasingly higher positions in the Romanian party and state leadership. According to those who know him, he did not become an obedient servant of the dictatorship, a sort of "token Hungarian," but as long as circumstances permitted, he tried to defend both his communist principles and the rights of the Hungarian national minority. Ceausescu and his clique observed the stubborn Hungarian with increasing nervousness, and a proposal made by Fazekas in 1982 provided the opportunity for Ceausescu to settle accounts with him. Fazekas proposed that Ceausescu be relieved of his top state functions and fill the post of premier instead. The Conducator would thus have been responsible for the implementation of his own unrealistic economic plans. Janos Fazekas was stripped of all his functions and sent into retirement. However, he has been following political events closely ever since, and he often sent letters and messages to foreign parties and international organizations, like to the United Nations last year, in which he drew attention to the flagrant injustices committed by the Ceausescu clique. He now wants to use his experience for the benefit of the Hungarians in Romania and to strengthen the relations between the two peoples. Janos Fazekas, together with his wife, is visiting Budapest at the invitation of Rezso Nyers.

[Farkas] When were you in Budapest last?

[Fazekas] Fifteen years ago. The dictator and his wife did everything in their power to cut me off from Hungary. Therefore, for 15 years I did not receive a passport. I was invited by Janos Kadar, Matyas Szuros, and Gyula Kallai, the Federation of Hungarian Resistance Fighters, and the World Federation of Hungarians. I presented all these invitations, but I still did not get a passport. Now, with an invitation from Comrade Nyers, I received my passport in 48 hours. I also met with Rezso Nyers twice:

last Sunday and on 6 March. My first meeting was a sort of family meeting at lunch, as we have known each other and have been friends since 1957.

[Farkas] What impressions does a Hungarian from Romania have of today's Hungary?

[Fazekas] After 15 years, and seeing only Budapest for the time being, the town is a great surprise for me. I am surprised at its development, the abundance of goods in the shops, and the windows of bookshops. I am glad that you preserved the historical monuments that represent an organic part of the culture of the entire Hungarian nation.

[Farkas] Speaking about books and culture, let us speak about education, including the Hungarians' self-education. Recently, the head of the Romanian Government said in Paris that he did not find it necessary to have independent Hungarian schools in Romania. What is your position on this issue?

[Fazekas] I have known Romania's current premier since his childhood, as we lived in the same house with his father, who was born in Nagyvarad, and who also participated in the Spanish Civil War. He was a very erudite person and he was well aware of the national minority issue. I am very sorry—and I will tell the premier—that Petre Roman did not learn enough from his father. He should also know that anyone who does not understand or is not familiar with the national minority issue cannot be a premier in Romania. When we speak about rights—and there are many kinds of rights—we can conclude that the national minority issue is the sum of individual and collective rights. The establishment and existence of a Hungarian university is a collective national minority right because this fulfills the demands of a national community. The Farkas Bolyai High School is also a manifestation of a common collective right. The former unitarian high school in Szekelykeresztur—where I also studied—which functioned as a Hungarian high school between the two world wars, is also part of the collective rights of the Hungarian national minority. Hungarian kindergartens, nurseries, theaters, newspapers, journals, radio stations, and television broadcasts are also part of this collective right. It seems that the premier has not yet learned all these things. If he wants to remain a politician, he will have to learn this. The Hungarian national minority does not ask for more than the rights of the Romanians. However, we do not ask, but demand these rights, because we have the right to our national education, to the development of our national culture, and to the preservation of our national existence.

[Farkas] Following the fall of the Ceausescu regime, we continue to receive news of national minority conflicts in Romania. In your view, what solution could be acceptable to both sides?

[Fazekas] In my view, lack of education, lack of political education, and lack of a general cultural education on both sides have always been among the greatest obstacles

to the Romanian-Hungarian rapprochement. Neighbors must come to know each other in order to like each other. At the time, I told Gheorghiu-Dej to study each other's language, literature, and history in both countries. It is essential for us Hungarians and Romanians to know each other's language, history, writers, and music. I think democracy will implement this, just as, sooner or later, a confederation of peoples living along the Danube will also have to be created, and this will be a really democratic solution to the national and national minority issue.

There are still many people among our politicians who gladly regard the national minority issue as an internal affair. These people did not read or do not know what the former Czechoslovak president Masaryk, a progressive bourgeois democrat, said about this. Among other things, he said that one who regards the national minority issue as an internal affair is a political crook. Therefore, just like human rights, national minority rights can no longer be regarded as internal affairs.

Except for Hungary, all the other socialist countries followed Ceausescu's dictatorship with passivity. Recently, I asked Mikhail Gorbachev to depose this anti-Soviet dictator of his decorations posthumously. Moscow decorated him with the Lenin Order twice. At the same time, the Soviet Union passively witnessed the elimination of Russian schools in the Danube Delta and the Ukrainian High School in Maramarossziget, all this to avoid interfering in internal affairs. In short, we must rethink the policy concerning the national minority issue by reformulating the rights and obligations and the program of theoretical and political actions. If this is not carried out, national incitement will inevitably continue to increase.

Hungarian Espionage Accusations Rejected

AU0803193090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1826 GMT 8 Mar 90

["Press Release"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—In connection with the news items disseminated by the Hungarian mass media in the last few days on the alleged espionage carried out in Hungary by Romanian citizen Gyula Lemperger, the news agency "ROMPRES" is empowered to state the following:

Gyula Lemperger, born on 25 February 1965 in the town of Carei, Satu Mare County, a Romanian citizen of Magyar nationality, unskilled worker, refused to come back home while being on a trip to Hungary in 1988, and was employed by "Biogaz" works in Debrecen.

Following the offences he committed in Hungary in September 1989, Gyula Lemperger was turned over to the Romanian borderline authorities by the Hungarian police.

In January 1990 he committed burglary on an automobile in the town of Carei and stole furniture from the "Crasna" works in the locality, for which he was investigated, while free, by the local police bodies. To elude penal investigation in Romania, by the end of February he illegally crossed Hungary's border.

On that occasion, Gyula Lemperger made a statement taken over by the Hungarian press and television on a so-called espionage activity he previously carried on at the "Biogaz" medicine works in Debrecen as well as on his alleged sending back to Hungary to continue that activity.

The coverage in such a manner over the Hungarian television and press of the case of a person that committed common law offences both in Hungary and in Romania is obviously a diversion, for narrow purposes, connected with the election campaign in Hungary, of a nature to impair by its implications the relations between Romania and Hungary, to affect the positive course toward understanding recorded in the last months between the two states as well as on a European plane.

In this case it is about using a common law offender that has no professional training or occupation, for chauvinist, nationalist actions.

Such actions, as proved by the developments in Hungary, are not only useless to their promoters in the election campaign, but, on the contrary, through the revelation of their profoundly harmful undercurrent, can only upset all people of good faith that, in Hungary as well, speak up for truth, against methods of sad remembrance, against typically police-like frame-ups.

It is surprising how easily the Hungarian authorities the National Security Office and the Foreign Ministry have accepted the allegations lacking any substance, that poses many questioning marks as to the seriousness and true intentions underlying the development of such a case.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently addressed to the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest an energetic protest against that unfriendly action that runs counter to the two peoples' aspirations, to the declarations recently made by Hungarian responsible factors regarding their wish to develop the relations between the two countries and demanded that the Hungarian party take the necessary steps to end the actions aimed at using Romanian citizens for purposes of nationalist-chauvinist propaganda. It is both desirable and useful that such situations should not recur, and the friendship and confidence should prevail in the relations between the two countries and peoples.

University To Resume Courses in Hungarian

AU0903201090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1810 GMT 9 Mar 90

["Release of the Magyar Democratic Union"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/3/1990—In a release issued today in Bucharest the Presidium of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania mentions that it received with satisfaction the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] and government's proposal regarding the beginning of negotiations between the executive, the teaching staff and the students of the Tirgu Mures Medical-Pharmaceutical Institute on matters of completely restoring the tuition in Hungarian at that institute. The negotiations will be participated in by representatives of two speciality commissions subordinated to the PNUC the commission on education and culture and the commission on national minorities.

The presidium, the release shows, considers that this step mirrors the government's understanding of the settlement of the questions concerning the restoration of the tuition in the mother-tongue of the national minorities in the spirit of democracy which is one and indivisible.

Law on Free Enterprise Takes Effect

AU0803183090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1514 GMT 8 Mar 90

["Free Initiative: The Time of Facts"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—Starting today, 8 March, the decree-law regarding the organization and unfolding of economic activities on the basis of free initiative, released on 6 February, has come into force.

According to this normative act, the citizens settled in Romania can develop, upon free initiative, small enterprises with a staff of 20, associations made up of ten members at the most, family associations and independent activities carried on by physical persons under license in the sphere of services or manufacture of various products.

The enterprises and associations thus set up can employ, according to a labour contract and by observing the labour code, any physical person, even if it were an employee of a state or cooperative unit (if it is, it will work in the new unit after observing working hours at the enterprise where it is already employed), as well as pensioners who have the right to cumulate, while employed, pension with salary.

They finance themselves from their own resources, from credits granted by Romanian banks or obtained from abroad under the license of the Foreign Trade Ministry.

The products and services done by the units set up upon free initiative shall be sold in the market at freely set prices.

Press Examines Privatization of Economy

AU0803192790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1507 GMT 8 Mar 90

["Privatization: Pros and Cons"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—A passage to a profitable and efficient market economy which has proved its capacity to administer economic complexities and make innovations implies, in the experts' opinion, the existence of private property to which a reticence of popular dimensions is shown. That is why the press debates this matter almost every day presenting pro and con opinions on the transformation of state and cooperative property into private property.

Privatization, as shown by the round table meeting organized by "ROMANIA LIBERA" with representatives of the National Liberal Party, the Democratic Social Party, the Christian Democratic Union and the Free Democratic Social Justice Party, is but a means of "building a modern, efficient, flexible and competitive economy at optimal parameters." Privatization does not mean to sell the country to foreigners nor does it mean the rebirth of landlords and the peasants' exploitation. It must be done in accordance with the characteristic features of the Romanian economy. Considering the current conditions, the truth about privatization is somewhere in the middle: neither complete privatization nor complete socialization of property, because a passage to private property cannot be made all of a sudden but gradually. In agriculture, for instance, profitable state and cooperative units must be maintained, with the privatization of the unprofitable ones and of the lands apt to give the guarantee of being efficiently tilled. To privatize agriculture also means to create conditions for the peasants to directly dispose of their work, to show interest in compensation for their work and not to leave their village for town as it happened in the last few decades.

As there is no precedent in the world in which an over-centralized economy should have passed on to a market economy on the basis of privatization it is natural for Romanians to show reticence in private property. This resistance is so great in industry and in other economic branches as it would be no wonder for a new political force that would plead against privatization to "win empathy and, consequently, the votes of a considerable part of the electorate." The communique of the National Salvation Front released during the revolution had the privatization of the economy as its priority target. Maybe that is why the idea is generally accepted that privatization is the only real chance for the recovery of the Romanian economy, being the main indicator of democratization, but it must not be done against the holders of work force, against workers and peasants,

through coercive methods as the communists accomplished nationalization and collectivization "arm in hand." It must be done gradually and through the power of example.

It is only this way that "the fear of privatization" can be dissipated over which one cannot pass but "by taking the risk of general bankruptcy," shows "TINERETUL LIBER" in its editorial today.

Economic Performance Survey for February

AU0803192990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1821 GMT 8 Mar 90

["The Economy: A Survey of February"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—The state of the Romanian economy in February is unsatisfactory, statistical data show. Overall marketable production achievements in February 1990 account for roughly 81 per cent as to the same period last year. As for labour productivity, for the same term of reference, it stands at less than 78 per cent. In the field of investment, comparing it with 1989 again, a programme was applied which accounts for half the amount last year as an outcome of the restructuring and reduction steps taken.

As for exports, the program worked out in the newly created export structures, were fulfilled in February as follows: In a proportion that was seven times larger in the case of relations with Eastern countries and in a proportion of 95 per cent in convertible hard currency. As compared with 1989, however, these achievements account for only 62 per cent in the case of relations with Eastern countries and respectively 68 per cent in the case of relations in convertible hard currency. In the first two months of the ongoing year imports increased. Only in February they increased 43 per cent as to 1989 as far as convertible-currency relations were concerned.

Delivery of products to the market stock rose in February 6.3 per cent over the same period last year. Commodity sales to the population were 23 per cent larger than in 1989.

Celac, USSR's Shevardnadze Hold Talks

AU0803194190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1906 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, now on a working visit in the USSR, had talks on Thursday with his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze. The two ministers informed each other about the current processes in Romania and the USSR, assessing that there were real possibilities at hand to give new bases to the Romanian-Soviet relations, in the spirit of the traditional friendship between the two neighbours and allies. Utmost heed was paid to the modalities of improving the economic and commercial collaboration, the bilateral cooperation on multiple planes.

Likewise, the two ministers had a useful exchange of views on problems of the current international life, especially on European developments.

Daily Exposes Politician's 'Fraudulent Practices'

AU0903152290

[Editorial Report] Bucharest—ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 3 March carries on pages 1 and 2 an 800-word article by Dan Vardie entitled: "If You Have a Party, You Are a Made Man." The article deals with the case of the Socialist Democratic Party, created "through fraudulent practices" by Marius Circiumaru, in the town of Pucioasa. The item says that "Mr. Circiumaru, a philosophy professor who never practiced his profession," acquired endorsement for his party by using "illegible formulas" and the "naivete of people" to obtain the required 251 signatures for setting up a party. Thus, "people were led to believe that they were joining the National Salvation Front," while they were actually backing the creation of a new party. The article then provides some "interesting" biographical data about Marius Circiumaru. In his youth, he had made "quite a career," as "leader of the Union of Communist Youth branches," in high school and university. He joined the Romanian Communist Party in 1974 and even finished the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Party Academy. In spite of this apparent biography of an "exemplary communist," he got into trouble later, and at one point he was even sacked from his job as education inspector for "receiving bribes." The article concludes with the observation that the country does not need such "dubious" people dabbling in politics.

Election Returns in Moldavian SSR Viewed

AU0903115690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 2 Mar 90 p 4

[Vasile Iancu article: "First Conclusions After the First Ballot in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] After the first ballot, the central electoral commission for the election of people's deputies in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] reached the conclusion that this poll, of major importance in sociopolitical activity has taken place in accordance with the provisions of the law. The citizens' intimations sent to the commission were discussed and the major part were resolved. Of the 2,828,540 citizens included in the lists, 2,359,813, representing 83.43 percent, cast their vote. What is the explanation for the fact that 473,000 citizens with the right to vote did not come to the polls? Civic passivity is the consequence of the fact that the principles of democracy were not respected for many years, N. Pislaru, who is empowered by the electoral commission to deal with the mass media, said to us. Civic indifference characterizes the awareness of numerous people, because they themselves had the experience that their problems were not solved by the deputies, who, in fact, were elected "at the top" without any competition, and they saw that their aspirations did not earn due response

in the Supreme Soviet. However, among the people who did not come to the polls, there were also many who applaud or accuse as personal advantages or disadvantages dictate, without however getting involved in public affairs with all their heart and soul.

A few significant details about the elections for the Republic's Parliament, that is, the final result. A total of 140 people's deputies were elected for the 380 seats in the parliament, of which 91 are Moldavians, 21 Russians, 18 Ukrainians, 7 Gagauz, and 3 Bulgarians. A total of 40 deputies represent the People's Front of Moldavia [PFM]. Iulie Rosca, vice chairman of the PFM Council, expressed optimism about the chances of the candidates of this political group in the next ballot. On 10 March, elections will be repeated in 237 electoral districts with two candidates running for each seat. Those candidates in electoral districts where more than half of the voters come to the polls will be granted a deputy's mandate, and will have one additional vote compared with their counter-candidates. In three electoral districts in the Vulcanesti, Ungheni, and Floresti counties, where the deputies did not have the necessary number of votes to proceed to the second ballot on 22 April, elections will be repeated. Anyhow, from the data available so far one can draw the conclusion that these elections are taking place under the sign of hope for a real democratization of social and political life in the Moldavian SSR.

Moldavian SSR CP Leader on Ties With Romania

AU0803131790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1228 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/3/1990—"I want to tell you that after the downfall of the tyranny in your country, the interest to develop bilateral relations which until then was confined to politicians, artists and writers, became widespread," stressed Petru C. Lucinski, first secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party [CP] of the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] in an interview. "I see our cooperation as objectively necessary for our economic and cultural development."

In reference to the future cooperation between Romania and the Moldavian SSR, Petru Lucinski suggested that each country receive the other's television programmes and growing exchanges of books and journals. He also said school books in Romania should be published, and teachers from the Moldavian SSR should come to Romania for training.

Petru Lucinski then spoke about a freer movement of the population across the border, and mutual facilities for short sojourns in Iasi and Kishinev. In economic terms, we can now plan to set up joint trading companies, he underlined. After 1 January 1991 we want 90 percent of our foreign trade to be made by us directly, not through the union's bodies.

So, I can see good prospects for our future cooperation and I am sure that we will find solutions, Petru Lucinski said.

*** Pre-Revolutionary Existence of NSF Addressed**

90EB0308C Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 28 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Emil Munteanu article: "An Unapproved Revolution"]

[Text] "Freedom has been won, and it would be a pity to lose it. A strange silence has descended. People are content with what they think they have won so far... We remain glued to the radio and television, and we mold ourselves on what is happening in Bucharest... The entire country is waiting for guidelines from the capital. Everything is being decided in Bucharest. Citizens of Timisoara, let us not forget that we didn't ask for anyone's approval to have the Revolution; Bucharest did not give us permission. Let us not forget that the Romanian Democratic Front was already formed here on 20 December 1989 when nothing had yet happened in Bucharest."

These were a few passages from an article carried in TIMISOARA on 13 February. We cannot reproduce it in its entirety, nor the article "Everything About the Mysterious Front of Communist Salvation," as Engineer Iovi Marius of Timisoara asked us, because of space considerations. Besides, they contain statements that our journalists must verify. However, we do concur in some of them, because we remember that a year ago, Radio Free Europe [RFE] broadcast the constitution manifesto of an underground opposition organization, formed under the very nose of the Communist Party, which called itself the National Salvation Front [NSF]. If that front really existed, why did it not make itself known? It could have done something at the congress, it could have come forth during the days of the Revolution, and our heroes might today be alive. Even in the Bucharest volcano that was threatening to erupt in waves of rage, the phantom NSF did not bring men out in the streets, although it could have done so. The irony to end all ironies was that ceausescu [lower case as published] was the one who brought them out in the Palace Square.

We still haven't had any clear proof! Many mysteries could be solved faster if our RFE colleagues would send us the entire text of the manifesto of that underground organization [that existed] in the very midst of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], at least as a means of comparison, not to mention that we could thus be rid of several uncertainties. If that manifesto was indeed sent to RFE, if that front really existed, this is the moment to declare its identity. We are free. There is nothing for us to be afraid of, is there? So I see no impediment for those who had the courage to raise their heads even for a moment from the yoke of the ceausescu dictatorship to revealing their identities. They would not receive reproaches, but flowers, more or less faded by the

passage of time... Anyway, one sunny morning is preferable to unclear skies, from which one doesn't know what to expect!

Once again, we cite the author of the article: "If it turns out that the two fronts are one and the same (especially at the top), then accusations of a coup (stubbornly maintained by representatives of the French press and television who on 22 December were in the building of the former Central Committee) will gain undeniable weight. That would mean that the Revolution was robbed of its power at the last moment, that the old front, lacking in any revolutionary merits, sat quietly and safely until it found an opportunity to take over the top seats without any risk." OK. Nevertheless, why are the people of Timisoara angry? Those can be our suppositions, too, as long as they concern the entire political spectrum of the whole country. Their anger is older than that, it dates back to the days that followed the victory. A few of the people we talked to, who slept in the streets to defend their Revolution or stayed barricaded inside the Opera House, told me (less reproachfully, at the time, because the victory euphoria was still in the air), that their only question was, why is Bucharest not moving? Today we share their axiom: Had there been no Timisoara, there would have been no Revolution; had Bucharest not picked up the struggle, there would have been no victory! Consequently, the people of Timisoara are right to insist on the correct formulation: The December Revolution, the 22 Victory!

The older anger is growing scar tissue, but the wound is not yet healed. And it will not be, as long as only one representative of Timisoara, the hotbed of the revolution, "managed" to be accepted into the former NSF Council. Why was that? If they were good enough to die for our just cause, they must be good enough to join the country's current leadership. Logical. The answer to that question is simple: Because the people of Timisoara would have had an embarrassing moral authority for those elected in the capital. This may also explain why the city on the Bega is so faintly represented on television or in the press (with the exception of ROMANIA LIBERA, as the article author pointed out).

I agree with the view of my colleague George Serban of TIMISOARA that all these questions must be resolved as soon as possible and without verbal acrobatics, in the spirit of the freedom and democracy that we are raising to the supreme rank of our existence as a nation, as a people that have shed their blood and have shown themselves capable of the ultimate sacrifice to regain their dignity. I know, the truth is sometimes uncomfortable. So are suppositions. Suspensions can be painful. That holds perfectly true for us journalists, who may inconvenience some people in our search for the truth, but who certainly don't want to contribute to destabilizing the situation in the country, as they asserted! At this time, the truth is needed to eliminate anything that may threaten our Revolution; only the truth can keep the ghost of totalitarianism far away from the cemeteries in which our heroes rest.

* Need for Calm, Respect for Truth

90EB0308D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 1 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Octavian Paler article: "The Need for Calm"]

[Text] Talking to a Western journalist, at one point I caught myself saying: "The difference between the two of us is that I am not a free man." As soon as the words were out of my mouth I gave a start. Wasn't I exaggerating? I asked myself. After all, who is preventing me from saying what I want to say? There is no censorship today, nor fear of reprisals in broad daylight. So? Nevertheless, I had not been mistaken. In the pause that followed my words I understood that there was nothing frivolous in my statement, that indeed, I was far from being a free man, and that from certain viewpoints I may perhaps never become one. This would require, first of all, that I impart to my memories a neutrality of which I am not capable. I am limited by what I detested throughout the crossing of the totalitarian desert, by my illusions and their failure, and even by the bloody love that prevented me from looking around with a cold and objective eye. I carry the past around like a constraint which I cannot shed, in order to say: We must begin all over again, free as the birds. As far as I am concerned, I am doomed to remain an alien to any chance of considering Romania's problems with the same calm with which I would think, if I had to, about American problems, for example. Besides, these are the reflexes acquired over such a long time! (Because 45 years is almost a whole lifetime.) They are not easily erased. It is difficult to become free overnight, to throw off the ballast of duplicity in which we lived and to shed the obsession that honesty was a handicap in a world—isn't this what we thought for decades?—in which if you forget that the truth is a mine field and that you have to step carefully, you risk being blown up. And finally, there is still what I call the psychological censorship, the diffuse fear inspired by unleashed passions, sometimes carried to the point of hatred, the anxiety stirred by the reproaches of those who do not understand that we will not be rid of the totalitarian mentalities deeply embedded in us before we can all accept different views as something normal. Forgetting that every dictatorship begins by refusing to tolerate objections, some of our compatriots are hastening to see others' still timid or impulsive attempts to discover the resources of free debate as an insult to official monologue. And how can you ignore the possible resentment felt—in an atmosphere already loaded with tension—by those you have disappointed or even, God forbid, contradicted? No, I am not a free man.

Which does not mean that I don't feel a nostalgia for freedom and that I have forgotten Camus' admirable sentence, "freedom is the right not to tell lies," which I have frequently repeated to myself in the past decade, particularly to force myself morally to resist fear and my own weaknesses. That is why I cannot but agree with those who now believe that in our country, half truths are

even more dangerous than whole lies, because they rob us of calm acceptance. In an interview published in the Tuesday issue of ROMANIA LIBERA, Mr. Iliescu expressed regret about the fact that many intellectuals kept their distance from him. Well, I want to frankly assure him that one of the causes of this distance is that we (or I, speaking just for myself) felt that the provisional government was manipulating the truth, revealing only half truths to us, and hiding some things which we ought to know. Shall I list them? Rumors (trite, but true: Rumors tend to prosper in an information vacuum) are increasingly verifying the idea that on the eve of the revolution, some sort of palace coup was being prepared against Ceausescu, perhaps with the support of some Securitate members or with foreign aid. It is difficult to assess what the chances of such an attempt might have been, but one thing is certain. The Romanian people would have preferred to avoid the bloodshed and would have hailed any solution for bringing down the dictatorship. Thus, if such a plan did exist, I don't see why its existence should now be hidden from the public. Unfortunately, the Romanian people were forced to pay a high price for eliminating the nightmare. Were the ones who were preparing a coup surprised to see us take our despair to the streets? Did we preempt them? Did we give them a chance to act without risk in the power void created by Ceausescu's loss of control and later flight? Or is none of this true, and are the versions that circulated and continue to circulate in the international press mere fantasy? We are groping in the dark. We don't know anything for certain. Are we risking a new myth, in a history already replete with fabricated myths, beginning with the events of 23 August? I don't think that the provisional government stands to lose by revealing the whole truth. On the contrary, it can put an end to the confusion concerning its controversial legitimacy, eliminating the perhaps false impression it sometimes gives that it is bothered by the political legacy of the revolution, too radical for its wishes.

Another example: the terrorists. They appeared suddenly, terrorized us for days and nights on end, then as suddenly disappeared. Where are the terrorists who were caught? What was learned from them? How many were there? When will they be put on trial? A mystery. We get drunk on rumors that make even absurd theories seem plausible. Or take the trials, beginning with Ceausescu's trial. Are there indeed video tapes from the trial of the "two" that we haven't been shown? Why not? Aside from military reasons, was there any other reason not to have a Romanian Nuremberg? Many are of the opinion that later, too, in the first trial of his aides, great care was taken to shift discussion from political to penal levels and to put on trial persons, rather than the system that allowed them to do what they did, and to reduce the genocide to one week out of the decades of totalitarian pressures and oppression to which our national being was subjected. Was that coincidental? A court error? Or is there, once again, half a truth we don't know?

We are also troubled by what is happening about the number of martyrs. We didn't have the courage to die like those who fell under the bullets did, but we do have the courage to juggle their numbers—I am referring to those who advance such diametrically different figures. In this respect, too, there are all kinds of suppositions, which I, for one, do not view as serious, but can it be to our benefit, in the eyes of the world too, to create an impression that we have no respect for our dead? Wouldn't it be better to put an end to the guessing game by officially elucidating that tragic mystery, however difficult that may be, before it is too late?

And finally, there is the most worrisome enigma. What are the Romanian society's chances to gain respect for the anticeausist and anticommunist character of its revolution and to enjoy a real democracy, not crippled and mortgaged by the sequels of totalitarianism? As far as the Communist Party is concerned, things are seemingly clear. It does not exist anymore. It collapsed together with the dictatorship that served it into oblivion. Less clear are things concerning the structures and mentalities imposed on the Romanian society in the past 45 years. What will happen with them? Will they be reformed, polished up, and further imposed, through a mixture of perestroika and fictional political pluralism? It is possible that the suspicions and fears concerning this part of the unknown truth, that beyond official declarations that are too vague and equivocal, are responsible for several times bringing into the streets thousands of demonstrators who were trying to ensure that the revolution was not being stolen away. The response, unfortunately, was not the expected one. Instead of clear assurances and clear actions designed to show to those worried by the prospects of democracy in our country that they had no reason for mistrust and for suspecting the provisional government of unfaithfulness to the revolution, there were counter-demonstrations, the only result of which was to exacerbate tensions and suspicion by genuine psychological shocks. For the past ten days the Victory Square has been quiet and well guarded. But I hope it wasn't this kind of calm that Mr. Iliescu had in mind when he said—justly so, I think—that the "Ceausescu syndrome" is a disease of which we must be cured. The present calm in Victory Square is an imposed and disputable calm. After all, why should the provisional government give us the impression that it is afraid of demonstrations and that it is taking advantage of thoughtless acts—or "thought out" in the shadows—by a tiny minority condemned by all public opinion, to prevent the masses in the street to express their demands? We think that the best way is that mentioned by Mr. Iliescu when he admitted that the best way to dialogue has not yet been found either with the newly formed parties or with certain social categories. I am convinced that an artificial calm, based on interdictions or threats (what can we do, we have also contracted a counter-demonstrations syndrome) several times heard in Victory Square, that those who have objections or doubts will be hurt, is not the calm we need. It is a

dangerous calm, in which too many surprises with incalculable effects may brew. We need a calm that can indeed help eliminate the vengefulness, passions, hostility, and hatred that threaten to besmirch our freedom, turning it from a collective euphoria as it was in the first weeks following the revolution, into a collective neurosis. Such a calm can be brought only by a frank and honest dialogue, without half truths. If freedom is the right not to tell lies, truth is more than a moral option now. It is the only solution in order not to compromise prospects forged at the price of heavy sacrifices and to spare the Romanian society feelings of frustration.

* Interethnic Relations in Romania Examined

* Association Aims Praised

90EB0301A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 23 Feb 90 p 2

[Virgil Lazar article: "Romanians and Hungarians in a Human Dialogue"]

[Text] Suspicion, rumors, and the chauvinistic coloring of certain public pronouncements or even actions have fanned and continue to fan a certain state of tension in some Transylvanian counties between Hungarians and Romanians who have been living side by side in these regions for centuries. Partially to blame for this situation were and are certain local newspapers. In the anomalous situation created by the dictatorship, there has been a "rejection" and defensiveness on both sides, both establishing organizations and associations to defend their national being and to struggle against privileges that in fact we all want.

However, on the evening of 17 February we attended a large meeting called by the "Hungarian-Romanian Democratic Association" which, supported by the Cluj Democratic Party and others, including the Union of Hungarian Democratic Youth, proceeded in the spirit of the clearest and most unrestricted democracy; the numerous speakers who took the floor frankly expressed their views. But before reporting on the discussions and describing the atmosphere, which was very favorable to a real beginning of cooperation and human dialogue between the Romanians and Hungarians belonging to the organization, we would like to present a short history of the movement.

The movement was born at the initiative of a group of Hungarians and Romanians: Dr. Ioan Varadi-Goia, Attila Kovacs, Margarit Duicu, Gheorghe Sechel, George Mihalca, Deczo Csabo, Valeriu Munteanu, V. Pop, and others, who launched an appeal in the local press which contained the program of the association. Here are a few significant paragraphs from that document:

"Democracy means, among other things, freedom of speech, as well as knowing how to listen, how to grasp different interests and viewpoints, how to carry on a dialogue, and how to negotiate on the basis of realities

until an agreement is reached that reconciles all views. During discussions, individual, passionate, extreme, or even chauvinistic opinions may be expressed; the important thing is that they should not be tendentiously attributed to either of the sides. Past wounds must not constitute a point of departure for anyone (...) in the way of real cooperation, profoundly humane mutual assistance, and friendship among people of various nationalities. We must eliminate real obstacles created by old prejudices (...) with a view to paving the way for real democracy; we, who are convinced that Hungarians and Romanians can live in fraternal cooperation in our mutual interests, want to demonstrate that we are not characterized by polemics, but linked by a bridge (...). We, the majority of Hungarians in Romania, who believe that we should not isolate ourselves but closely cooperate (politically, too) with Romanians with a view to achieving democracy and full social and legal equality, want to establish a Hungarian-Romanian Democratic Association which can be joined by all those who agree with us. We have elicited a positive response from the Democratic Party of Cluj which, as a multinational party, is in agreement with our appeal."

This appeal indeed elicited a response among Hungarian and Romanian citizens, and our meeting was proof of that. The discussions were more than moving; they were warm and friendly, and understanding and solicitude was expressed by the speakers: Gavril Groza, Miclos Varadi, F. Laszlo, Edit Harmath, Florin Pop, Ildico Mudsai, Istvan Osvaldt, Maria Ungur, Cornel Bontideanu, Gheorghe Nistor, Levente Sueket, Arpad Sebeteny, and many others. Everyone supported the generous ideas of the association's program, asked questions, and raised matters of principle proceeding from the need for cooperation and human dialogue between the Hungarians and Romanians of Transylvania. "It is only a natural need," Florin Pop said, "for Hungarians and Romanians to coexist and to closely cooperate in all areas. Because both Romanians and Hungarians died in our revolution. Our heroes left us a sacred legacy: to struggle together to eliminate chauvinistic ideas." Gh. Nistor made an interesting proposal: "In localities where one nationality makes up more than 10 percent of the population, school should be taught in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities as well as Romanian. This can lead to smoothing disagreements and to a better mutual understanding. I suggest that the association include this provision in the constitution that is being drafted." Professor Rozalia Varga also raised several issues of a broader interest: In the Manastur district we organized a Romanian language circle, and we want to learn the history of the cohabiting nationalities in Romania in a broader framework, namely that of universal history. If we acquire a historical consciousness in this manner, nationalism will automatically disappear. I personally have learned a lot from the Romanians of Maramures who, despite all the calamities that punctuated their history, have proven their resistance and durability as a nation, preserving unchanged their language, dress, and

customs, without ever being nationalistic or chauvinistic. Along another line, I propose that our Association should also promote authentic talents from among Hungarian and Romanian children, something that was seriously neglected under the dictatorship."

Maria Ungur, a Hungarian, said: "Separatism is not in our interests. Its origin is in the fact that many did not master the Romanian language. People want to separate when they cannot sustain a dialogue. But we are not in favor of separatism. I was graduated from a Hungarian school, but I noticed that by and large, only the poor or lazy students did not learn Romanian. All that was left for them, was to isolate themselves, which is not good. Consequently, the fact that we want to study Hungarian or to learn in Hungarian should not bother anyone, because we do not wish to isolate ourselves in doing so. We want to work together in all areas, and therefore, each Hungarian who respects himself will also learn Romanian, so that he can have full access to the intellectual assets forged together in this land."

I have cited passages from several speeches to illustrate the lofty objective of this association. In my opinion, it has found the path to a goodwill dialogue between Hungarians and Romanians. The very fact that the association has been joined by professors, physicians, engineers, technicians, workers, students, etc., both Hungarians and Romanians, guarantees that mutual tolerance and reconciliation will lead to harmonious cooperation. Everything bodes well. Let us see what will happen next.

Editorial note: ROMANIA LIBERA warmly greets the first dialogue of the Hungarian-Romanian Democratic Association, which it views as an essential means of resolving the problems of all the people of this land named Romania.

* Views on Separatism

90EB0301B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 24 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Dr. Janos Pentek article: "Separatism: A Real Danger or a False Argument?"]

[Text] In 1946, immediately after the war, in the euphoria of peace, a member of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, who in fact was a great European humanist, Zoltan Fabray, shouted at the world: "Take heed! Fascism has not disappeared; on the contrary, it has dispersed and has contaminated the entire world!" Unfortunately, Fabray's warning turned out to have been well founded: A new kind of fascism was established in East Europe in the 1950's, namely Stalinism, totalitarian communism; and later in our country, the ceausecism [lower case as published] that was our decades-long nightmare. Now, in the first weeks of true freedom, we feel dutybound to update and repeat the appeal of the humanism expressed above: Dear compatriots, take good heed, do not allow yourselves to be disoriented by

the disappearance of the dictator! The ceausecu ideological poison, spread everywhere, has penetrated our consciousness; some of its elements are preserved and further supported by the fanatical heirs of that ideology. But the true danger is not overt ceausecism, which is easily detected, but its insidious, even unconscious forms, imqqqplanted in the smallest cells of our bodies. Some of those who declare and consider themselves democrats, in the final analysis, when it comes to specific issues, behave like representatives of the old party propaganda.

The most persistent and dangerous element of this ideology is the alleged ethnic and cultural supremacy over minorities, and the intolerance that results from that theory. This is not a question of the authentic and natural self-respect of any nation, but of a harmful ideology from which the "homogenization" strategy was derived, which was nothing but a euphemism for forced assimilation, ethnocide, dispersal, and elimination of the nationalities and their institutions.

Just like the Romanians between the Prut and Nistru regained their natural rights to use their language as the official language, to have their institutions, etc., in the same way the Hungarians of Romania must also have their natural rights. We must find ourselves, too, our identity, which for a long time was in doubt. We cannot give up either equality of rights in all areas nor the right to our own institutions, even if some people immediately become alarmed and invoke the danger of separatism. We think that Romanian society has given up the Stalinist-type monolithic unity and is diversifying; we hope that the national minorities will find their natural place within the same pluralism, too.

Despite this incontestable fact, some people invoke the argument of the need for united work and greatly stress the threat of separation and isolation. It must be understood, however, that ethnic groups, nations, and nationalities tend to naturally separate from birth on. One is born a Romanian, another a Hungarian, a third a German, without prior choice. If we want to preserve (or regain) our ethnic identity we must have the opportunity for a minimal separation: We must promote our own culture, our own institutions, and our own schools. (Which doesn't in the least justify vehement rejection of a natural demand for regaining a Hungarian kindergarten, a school, or even a university, by invoking the threat of disintegration of the country). We do not believe that by having one's own home or institution means separating oneself from society. Some people are good friends, but few friends choose to live together. We will no longer accept imposed official and institutionalized friendship and unity, but only the unity of free people, free groups and collectives, with equal rights.

There is still talk of "mistrust-generating separatism." We maintain the contrary: There is mistrust toward us; alleged isolation will not generate mistrust, but the negation of our right to our own institutions, which is the

expression of that mistrust. In fact, all so-called "unifications" have been based on mistrust. Not one Hungarian teacher in the whole country was ever appointed highschool principal, also out of mistrust. Our entire previous life was overshadowed by this mistrust.

Certain sensitive points are frequently mentioned in discussions and publications. But sensitivity is mutual, too. We are all touchy, and should therefore be more empathetic to other people's sensitivities. Such sensitivity must have been extreme in the poet and professor Laszlo Szabodi who committed suicide, together with Zoltan Csende—the rector of the Bolyai University—as victims of the dictator in 1959, having been publicly ridiculed by the latter at the meeting at which it was arbitrarily decided to unite the two universities, signaling the gradual elimination of higher education in the Hungarian language. We don't want to even allude to the entire 30-year history since then. One thing is, however, certain: At Cluj University, which was considered bilingual, there was never any competition requiring a knowledge of Hungarian (with the exception of the Hungarian chair); thus, the staff conversant with the language was gradually reduced to a minimum in each faculty. In the past five years, Hungarian was included among the foreign languages, which by implication meant that its speakers were foreigners. That is why we don't view as credible the following declaration by the University National Salvation Front [NSF]: "The students will be free to decide in what language to study." (ADEVARUL IN LIBERTATE [TRUTH IN FREEDOM], 14 January). Similarly, we do not agree with the conclusion arrived at in the same text: "This justified aspiration of our youth can be achieved only within one university

which would unite all of them, without discrimination, ensuring equal opportunities for all." The youth no doubt have different aspirations, and as for secure and real prospects for Hungarian youth—the existence of a Hungarian university is their only opportunity.

The position most unacceptable to us was expressed by Mr. Octavian Buracu in his interview for ADEVARUL IN LIBERTATE of 16 January. Had we not known that he is the chairman of the Cluj Council of the NSF, we might not have been surprised, nor would we have been surprised if that interview had been published one month earlier. What he said in the following passage is completely in disagreement with all the statements of the NSF Council and the government, not to mention all the statements of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania. He stated the following: "In time it will probably become necessary to expand the rights of the nationalities, but this must occur gradually and in keeping with the situations given." We know that not all problems can be solved overnight. However, it is unanimously agreed that democracy can exist only if it is complete and indivisible, and that it cannot be measured by the yard or cut into slices or portions for any citizen or social group. No one wants to accept that some should be more equal than others. Democracy and freedom, which means rights, began at the zero hour of the Revolution for everyone. We believe that this is a basic fact of democracy.

(P.S. Another sign of separatism, in the other direction this time, was, we think, the refusal of ADEVARUL IN LIBERTATE to publish this article; in general, the paper denies dialogue through the publication of articles by Hungarian authors that are addressed to Romanian readers, too.)

Kosovo Curfew Lifted; Serbia Plans Expulsions

LD1003211290 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1935 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG)—Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, where the curfew was lifted this evening, were told today that there will be no dialogue on turning the Yugoslav province into a republic and that all Albanian emigrants supporting separatists will be shortly expelled.

Member of the Serbian Presidency [name indistinct] Kertes today emphasized that despite the opposition at the federal level, even the presidency of Yugoslavia, on the issue, Serbia will expel emigrants whose activities have been aimed against Yugoslavia and who have taken the side of separatists in Kosovo. At a meeting held in Belgrade devoted to settling, as well as returning, Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo who had been forced to migrate from the province, Kertes stressed that Serbia will carry out its plan "even at the cost of remaining alone."

Kertes assessed that in Kosovo, which is an integral part of Serbia, there is a very large number of Yugoslav-oriented Albanians who, fearing retaliation, do not dare stand up to local Albanian separatists and terrorists.

In the meantime, in the Kosovo town of Pec, commenting [on] ethnic Albanian demands for democracy, member of the Kosovo Communist League leadership Sonja Scepanovic said that democracy does not mean that anybody can just take to the streets, or elsewhere, and demand a republic or a dialogue on the Republic of Kosovo.

A dialogue is possible on everything, except on the breaking up of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Mrs. Scepanovic said at a meeting of Pec official political organisations.

Mrs. Scepanovic accused Kosovo Alternative Movement members of constantly trying, in struggling to seize the power, to create an impression that all ethnic Albanians are against the policy of the republic of Serbia on Kosovo and are in favor of the Republic of Kosovo.

Albanian Meetings Protest Violence, Segregation

AU1103200390 Pristina Domestic Service
in Albanian 1700 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 11 March devotes 30 minutes of its extended 37-minute newscasts to reports on events in Kosovo.

A report from the village of Gornje Stanovce, Vucitrn Commune, describes a "meeting of 1,000 citizens" to "assess the local political and security situation." Speakers at the meeting are reported as saying that "violence is unacceptable to us," and protesting "the segregation of university students by nationality." The meeting is reported to have "approved the conclusion

that the League of Communists [LC] should mind its own business and not allow itself to be used to launch crazy demands." Hisen Kajdomcag, president of the Kosovo Presidency, in a recorded extract from a speech, states that "any exacerbation of the situation, work stoppage, boycott of classes, or impediment to democratic, political, and economic life will bring fresh perils and major consequences that will only act in favor of those who wish nobody well." In a recorded reply to a question on student segregation, Kosovo Executive Council member (?Isa) Mustafa states: "The Kosovo Executive Council has reached the decision not to allow the segregation of pupils or students according to nationality, whether in schools, colleges, or students' accommodation," adding that such a step "would imperil brotherhood and unity and our common life." The meeting is reported as "unanimously approving the initiative that the local LC should register with the Kosovo Democratic Peasants Party."

After reports on a forthcoming meeting of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee on 12 March and on recent discussions in the LC of Bosnia, a correspondent from Pec describes "a large gathering of citizens," at which various speakers are reported as saying that "the demands of the Albanian people are not hostile, but nobody sees any reason to talk to them;" "violence, reprisals, and the censorship of the Albanian-language press can never lead to the stabilization of the province;" and "We have never wanted Greater Albania, but only freedom and equality among the people." A participant is reported as saying, "Our common life with the Serbs and Montenegrins is much older than the LC and the Socialist Alliance. Who is destroying this unity? Not the people, but the incompetent work of the Socialist Alliance and the LC, which do not have proper ties with the workers class and the people."

Reports from various villages in Podujevo and Lipljan communes describe similar meetings at which branches of the LC and the Socialist Alliance were transformed into branches of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance or the Kosovo Democratic Peasants Party, and branches of the Federation of Socialist Youth joined the Youth Parliament.

After TANJUG reports on meetings of the Peony Association for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo Polje and the formation of the Harmony Association for the return of Serbs in Vitina, Kosovo news ends with two reports on "the province-wide humanitarian campaign to end blood feuds." A report from Vucitrn states that a gathering of 400 people settled five feuds, and a report on a meeting in Podujevo describes reconciled parties as embracing, while a speaker stated that "revenge was never in our tradition, but the Turks introduced it with the aim of dividing us."

Action in Kosovo Assessed as Lawful

*LD0903230190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1955 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] Pristina, March 9 (TANJUG)—Police engaged in preventing Albanian separatists' and terrorists' demonstrations in Kosovo have acted in compliance with legal authorizations, while in certain circumstances they have had to use firearms—it was noted today at session of the federal government which considered a report by the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs.

In two cases, police used firearms although legal conditions had not been fulfilled for this, while four other cases of using firearms without possible "legal coverage" were still under investigation—it was said at the federal government's session.

The number of policemen in the joint police corps in Kosovo has been cut down by one-quarter, and, depending on the future security situation in the province, the reduction would continue—it was said at the session of the federal government.

The League of Communists of Kosovo strives for political pluralism and dialogues with all those favouring peace and joint life in Kosovo, Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and who are for the equality of all nations and nationalities in the province—stated today secretary of the Presidency of the Kosovo party Ljubomir Popovic in a talk with communists in the Kosovo townlet Ragas.

He assessed that the background of Albanian separatists' actions in Kosovo comprised the fight for a forceful takeover of power and for the materialization of the idea of what is termed "a greater Albania," rather than a fight for democracy.

He stressed that special measures in Kosovo might be lifted only when order, peace and security for all citizens were re-established in Kosovo.

The ban on demonstrations and the compulsory work orders in some firms will be the only two remaining special measures (introduced a year ago) when the curfew is lifted tomorrow (after it was imposed twenty days earlier because of the February unrests of Albanian separatists and terrorists).

The secretary for internal affairs of Serbia, Radmilo Bogdanovic, stated last night that the competent bodies are on their way to discovering the organizers and instigators of unrests in Kosovo.

Council for Return of Albanians Starts Work

*AU0503152390 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian
28 Feb 90 p 7*

[Blerim Reka report: "Albanians Also Want to Return to Kosovo"]

[Text] One issue that people until recent years only spoke about under their breath—the emigration of Albanians—has been taken up at an institutional level this month with the formation of the Council for the Return of Albanian Emigrants from Kosovo. Thus, an association of citizens without political pretensions has joined the array of alternative alliances and movements in Kosovo, with the single aim of bringing back to Kosovo all Albanians who, for whatever reason, migrated to other parts of Yugoslavia or foreign countries. The news spread fast, and in addition to the 11-member council in Pec, initiatives have been adopted to create similar councils in Urosevac, Glogovac, Podujevo, Prizren, Djakovica, Zegar, and elsewhere.

How was such interest aroused among Kosovars to take up this problem at an institutional level and start to solve it in an organized way? The reason must probably be sought in the mass migrations of Albanians from this area over many years, and the often-mentioned figure of 2 million emigrants since the Balkan Wars [1912-13], mainly to Turkey. This figure has not been officially confirmed, but neither has it been denied, which only lends support to its veracity in the minds of the Kosovo public.

There is no doubt that the problem of the emigration of Albanians from Kosovo and Yugoslavia exists, although the authorities have never issued an official statement. The precise number of emigrants can only be ascertained from often contradictory data scattered among various archives. Perhaps the figure of 2 million has been reached because of the people's knowledge of the plan drafted in Turkish-Yugoslav ministerial talks in 1938 for the emigration of 200,000-2 million Albanians. According to a report of the "Endowment for International Peace" published in Paris in 1914, 120,000 Albanians emigrated to Turkey between 1913 and 1915 [dates as published], while documents from the town of Zvecan record that between 1924 and 1927, 3,200 emigrated to Turkey and 6,000 to Albania. According to other figures from the same year, 200,000 Albanians emigrated from Kosovo, to be followed by 2,000 more Albanian families after the 1936 colonization of Kosovo. Fortunately, World War II prevented the implementation of the Yugoslav-Turkish convention "For Albanian Emigration" of 7 November 1938, which provided for

the emigration of 40,000 Albanian families by 1944 (Clause 2) from the banovinas [prewar Yugoslav administrative units] of Vardar, Zeta, and Morava.

Until recently there was a lack of data on the postwar emigration of Albanians. A figure of 300,000 Albanian emigrants in the period before the Brioni Plenum [1966] has been calculated. Meanwhile, the Association for Endangered Peoples in Goettingen recently produced a figure of 250,000 Albanian emigrants from Yugoslavia between 1973 and 1988. A new wave of mass Albanian emigration occurred in 1985-88, when many (reckoned to number 5,000) left Kosovo for Norway and Sweden, while many others left Macedonia for Turkey and Montenegro for the United States.

What data does the recently formed Council in Pec possess? According to Chairman Reshat Nurboja, the council has now made its first contacts with emigrant families and has appealed to all Kosovar families with exact data about emigrants, the year in which they left, and their destination to contact the council. According to the suppositions of members of the council, there are tens of thousands of interested people in Turkey alone, while 700 Albanian emigrants in Norway and Sweden have expressed a desire to return. The council has now asked the highest state bodies in the federation to include the return of Albanian emigrants in the Yugoslav program for the prevention of Serbian and Montenegrin emigration because, they say, this would be a practical testimony to the proclaimed policy of national equality for all. First contacts have also been made with representatives of the Slovene and Croatian economy regarding the possibility of joint investment in projects to employ Albanian workers who have been working in these republics for years. The formation of the council has been welcomed both abroad and in the province, as shown by the many offers of material help and the willingness of such citizens as those in Titova Mitrovica who have offered, free of charge, 700-5,000 square meters of land.

It must be said that the Pec communal authorities have so far behaved correctly and have not impeded the council's work in any way, while the council has also informed the Pec Socialist Alliance about its activities and goals. The members of the council are also ready to cooperate with its sister Peony [Bozur] Society for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins, and say that it would be a good idea if the question of emigrants were not tackled on single nationality lines, but that the Albanians should deal with the return of emigrant Serbs and Montenegrins, while the Peony Society devotes itself to the return of Albanians.

Kosovo Peasants Party Planned

LD1902204190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—It has been learned that the initiative committee for setting up the

Kosovo Peasants Party as constituted today on the premises of the Kosovo Writers' Association.

The program declaration, submitted to the information media, says that apart from efforts for a thorough economic and social reform, democracy, freedom, and equality, the party will invest efforts "against violence and all forms of resettlement of the people by the state and against colonization out of expansionist and hegemonist motives." [passage omitted: the party will fight for the interests of peasants]

Professor Dr. Hivzi Isljami was elected president of the initiative committee of this future party.

Kosovo Secretariat on Demaqi Imprisonment

LD1902125790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—One of the most notorious advocates of the creation of a "Republic of Kosovo" and its secession and annexation to Albania, Adem Demaqi, is still in prison.

The provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs believes it is no coincidence that such misinformation is presented at a time when the name of Adem Demaqi has been shouted and the release of the so-called political prisoners has been demanded since the first gatherings in Kosovo.

Demaqi has so far been convicted three times for extremely separatist and subversive activities. The first time was way back in 1959, again in 1964, and the last time in 1976 when he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. According to this last sentence, which expires this October, Demaqi is still in prison. Adem Demaqi has spent 29 years altogether in prison.

'Kosovo Council for Truth' Holds News Conference

AU1502170190 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian
9 Feb 90 p 10

[D. Blakaj report: "The Truth About Kosovo Through Rallies"]

[Text] Yugoslav and foreign journalists were told about the aims of the "Kosovo Council for Truth" at a news conference organized in the offices of the newspaper JEDINSTVO. Its purpose, members of the council said, is to spread the real truth about Kosovo throughout the world. They added that there is only one truth, and they are the ones to spread it.

Chairman Dragi Moracic, after talking about the council's work, replied to various impromptu questions. Are the Albanians second-class citizens in Kosovo? No, came the answer, and he took as an example a passport, which is printed first in Albanian and then in Serbo-Croatian. He then mentioned schools and colleges where there is Albanian-language instruction. He himself then asked

whether the aim of the Albanians' demonstrations was to separate Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia and replied, saying that the separatists' aim is clear. He wondered whether the Slovene and Croat leaderships had supported the separatists and he said that they had done so in their statements, with the withdrawal of the Slovene militiamen, and with the announcement of the Croat contingent's withdrawal.

Continuing to answer his own questions, he said that differentiation is not a campaign against the Albanians and he assessed the purpose of the demand to lift the state of emergency as being to ease the way to secession. The Serbs, he said, are being persecuted by the Albanians and they will spread this truth around the world, without mentioning the state's violence against the masses of Albanians.

The REUTER correspondent asked how they would spread information about the truth of Kosovo around the world and whether they envisaged cooperation with alternative groups in Kosovo as leading to a solution of the problem.

Mirko Cupic, a member of the council and a JEDINSTVO journalist, said that they would spread the truth, not only through the media and various academic books, but through rallies. Regarding cooperation with the alternative groups of Kosovo, he said that they favored cooperation, but that the programs of these associations and alternative alliances are merely committed to the interests of their own people and not those of everybody living in Kosovo. Under the guise of democracy, according to him, these groups have the aim of legalizing the separatists' program and persuading the world that the Albanians are in favor of democracy but the Serbs are not. He then added that, apart from the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, which has two Serbs in its Presidium, the other alternative groups are ethnically pure, although in fact the Council for Human Rights, the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, and the Association of Kosovo Sociologists and Philosophers has members of various nationalities (Serbs, Croats, Turks, Muslims, Romany Gypsies, etc.). He also called some of the leaders of the alternative movements sworn anticommunists and fascists.

Since they will not cooperate with single-nationality alternative movements, a Radio Sarajevo correspondent asked whether their own council was not of a single nationality.

The reply was that two Muslims, one Romany Gypsy, and two or three honest Albanians had joined the council.

Kosovo Democratic Union Leader on Conflict

AU1302130190 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
13 Feb 90 p 2

[Maren Koester-Hetzendorf report on interview: "Tirana As the Last Hope?"]

[Text] Vienna—"We want to achieve democratic changes in Kosovo," says Ibrahim Rugova, co-founder of the "Kosovo Democratic Union," before answering the question as to whether a revolutionary change in Albania would have repercussions on the Serbian province that has a majority of Albanian inhabitants. He said that what was happening in Albania did not have any direct repercussions in Kosovo.

"However, if repression continues, the number of people who want to join Albania will increase no matter what the situation there is." Rugova, who leads the largest opposition movement in Kosovo, promptly qualifies his remark: "The people in Kosovo know that the border issue is a European affair."

Rugova believes that his country's future lies in the Yugoslav federation. The question of whether it should be a province or a republic is left open by the leader of the opposition movement, which with about 100,000 members is the largest one in Kosovo. Because, he says: "This question is taboo in Yugoslavia." An organization propagating this topic would have to expect being promptly banned, he adds.

According to Rugova, a solution to the Kosovo conflict can only be achieved through an "interethnic dialogue" between Albanians and Serbs. However, the Federal Government in Belgrade is the only one able to bring about such a dialogue, he says.

Meanwhile, in Kosovo, the people are concerned about the "residues" that are left of their rights of autonomy that were drastically curtailed in March last year. Rugova is concerned about another attack—this time, from the planned new federal Constitution. He said that the draft Constitution proved that after the consensus principle had been dropped on the level of the republic, it would now also be dropped on the federal level. As a result, the Serbian provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo would lose the "actual guarantee" of their rights of autonomy.

New Democratic Alliance Party Forms in Croatia

*LD1203020290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Summary] Rijeka, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—A new party was founded in Rijeka today. It is the Rijeka Democratic Alliance, which will unite all people oriented toward the prosperity of Rijeka and the Croat Riviera. The party welcomes all people of goodwill and advocates equality for all nations living in this region and is against revanchism of any kind and everything that divides people and nations.

Muslim Party Denies Coalition with Tudjman

*AU1103172890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
6 Mar 90 p 2*

[Letter from Muslim Democratic Party President Rasim Maslac "on the occasion of the general assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community" entitled "Reason as a Guide"; date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the most recent political events in the country and the disinformation about our activity being spread in a well-organized way, the Presidium of the Muslim Democratic Party [Muslimanska Demokratska Stranka], with its center in Koper, feels a moral obligation to all those people it represents to present some of its stands to the public at large.

We condemn all nationalist statements that were heard at the assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community in Zagreb, in particular some views pertaining to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore, we are telling all those people who have harbored such ideas for decades already that we will resolutely oppose any retailoring of the existing borders and establishing of old social relations. We consider the reaction to this subject made by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina to be positive, although we do not support their programs and do not share some of their ideas and suggestions on how to solve the political and economic crisis in our country.

We condemn repression in Kosovo directed against any people or nationality living in that province.

Rumors about a coalition between the Muslim Democratic Party and the Croatian Democratic Community have spread throughout our country. The only thing we can do is deny them.

As is defined in our program, we will strive to establish positive relations with all parties, alliances, organizations, communities, groups, and individuals, both in our country and in the world. However, we will never accept cooperation with those people who advocate hatred and intolerance and racial, religious, or ideological discrimination.

We are calling on all positive forces in our society and individuals from all peoples and nationalities to take reason as their guide in such a grave political situation, and to have good-neighborly relations as their highest aim.

Croatian Peasant Party To Join Coalition

*LD1003231190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 10 March (TANJUG)—The Croatian Peasant Party today issued a statement in which it said that in the presence of about 60 commissioners of branches of the Croatian Peasant Party in various regions of Croatia, an assembly of the Croatian Peasant Party was held last night at which full unity was achieved in an assessment of the work and activities of the party. It was decided that the Croatian Peasant Party will enter the Coalition of National Accord. [passage omitted]

Markovic, Racan at Croat SKH-SDP Meeting

*LD1003214590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croat LC [League of Communists]-Party for Democratic Change (SKH-SDP) today adopted a complete program with which it will come out at the upcoming elections in Croatia. This document of about 50 pages contains a very comprehensive and systematic electoral program that is "suited" to a modern party of the European left. [passage omitted]

Opening the SKH-SDP conference, President Ivica Racan explained that the aim of this meeting was to present the electoral program. The Croat LC is aware of its new historic situation, as well as of its historic responsibility for the realization of fundamental social reforms that it advocated at the 11th Croat LC Congress. It is also aware, says Racan, of great challenges to which are exposed the forces of democracy, democratic socialism and progress in Croatia and Yugoslavia, confronted today with the forces of totalitarianism and divisions. However, despite all this and because of this we wish—together with other democratic forces—to contribute to a better, more peaceful and happier life in the sovereign and democratic Croatia and the federative democratic Yugoslavia. As we have been saying recently—we are thinking seriously—we will also continue to work seriously and responsibly in this direction, stressed Racan.

Dr. Ivan Siber spoke about the electoral program on behalf of the working group for its preparation. [passage omitted]

Ante Markovic, FEC [Federal Executive Council] president and conference delegate, was among the 22 participants in the discussion, and pointed out various aspects of the electoral program and expressed their support.

Markovic said that the program expressed the orientations that are in fact orientations toward changes and reforms in our society, and then dwelt on the realization of the FEC program. The realization of this program is under way and it is demolishing and changing everything in its way, not just in the economy but in society as a whole, in politics and in culture alike, stressed Markovic.

The FEC program is not just a vision of the future. This program has already begun. It carries in itself all that is democratic and humane. It is marked by the opening to the world and amongst each other within Yugoslavia and it yields "such fascinating results that no one will be able to stop it."

All that we have achieved so far, adds Markovic, including the convertibility of our currency and our foreign currency reserves, as well as the curbing of inflation that is heading toward a zero figure—everything we have achieved so far in all spheres of society—we have done ourselves, in fact, without anybody's help and support. Moreover, we had to repay \$3.8 billion of debt and we did not receive a cent from anyone. This illustrates the strength of this program and the fact that it is open to the world. Markovic expressed conviction that the FEC program would gain not just moral but also material support from the world, and that its chances of success are enormous.

Every party whose ambition is to express the interests of our society, the interests of all our nations and nationalities, must not just support the FEC program but also identify itself with it. This program must become its own program, enriched with all the specific features that the progressive program of the SKH-SDP in Croatia must contain. It must be turned toward changes in our society and establish its place, which is neither in separatism, nor in nationalism, nor yet in unitarism, but in a federative community—Yugoslavia—in which exists a democratic right to express all that is humane, to express the interests of every nation and nationality and all their specific features. All this must be prominent and must be allowed to exist regardless of how big or small a nation in question may be.

A party or a movement with such orientations, which expresses and accepts a new, democratic, socialist, humane, and above all Yugoslav opening to the world—with progressive, democratic, new, economically more-efficient options and in every respect richer in a material, cultural and civilized sense—will always have my support and I will consider myself its member. And only such a movement in Yugoslavia will have a chance of representing the interests of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities and winning the upcoming elections in an equal struggle with other parties in our country, said Markovic in conclusion, whose report was frequently interrupted by loud and long applause. [passage omitted]

Program Noted

LD1003220190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The election program of the Croat LC [League of Communists]-Party for Democratic Change [SKH-SDP] conference is characterized by the formation of a new identity for the party as a modern political party of the European left. This program, it is stressed, marks a break with the old-style Communist Party.

The SKH-SDP will, in its program, no longer be a doctrinarily founded political organization, and Marxism ceases to be the only theoretical and ideological source for it. It stands for honest and democratic elections, and for the right of citizens to freely choose their "political colors." In the future, the party will participate in government only on the basis of the election support of citizens and in proportion to that support. The SKH-SDP, as a democratic political party, will, as its program says, increasingly be founded on the principle of democratic centralism in its internal organization. Modern political parties are founded on the principle of the integration of the membership on democratic principles. Thus, the membership of the SKH-SDP will be voluntary and based on the democratic association of individuals.

The SKH-SDP, as an independent political organization in Croatia, will voluntarily join the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] on the basis of its program aims and the program and organizational equality of all parts of the LCY. It will associate with other political organizations in Croatia and Yugoslavia that base their programs on the values of democratic socialism and a democratic federation. The basic assumptions of the party are civil rights and liberties.

It will act to establish a democratic multiparty order and to increase the political rights and freedoms of individuals, social groups and communities. The initiatives of the SKH-SDP, it is stressed, have already significantly contributed to the legalization of political parties, the calling of free and democratic elections, and democratic changes in the existing Constitution.

The SKH-SDP, it goes on to say in its program, will operate in such a way as to guarantee a peaceful transition to a democratic political system. Thus, this electoral program offers to the citizens of Croatia a certain and rapid transformation that excludes violence, insecurity, and existential uncertainty.

Basic freedoms and rights must be guaranteed by the Constitution. Their preservation is the highest norm in the community, and a modern political community must also guarantee to the individual additional social and ecological rights—the right to education, social care, and a healthy and clean environment.

The SKH-SDP will therefore support both initiatives of citizens and social movements that are formed in connection with the resolution of special problems—ecological, urban, regional, minority, and other problems.

Europe is our goal, and a European orientation is the backbone of our policy, the program goes on to say, and stresses that it is only by adopting European standards that involvement in international trade is facilitated. It also advocates a changed relationship vis-a-vis the Croatian minorities in neighboring countries and our citizens in the world, and also proportional national representation in the diplomatic and consular service.

The party, it is stressed, advocates market-oriented and socially and ecologically responsible business operations. It is in favor of a modern mixed market economy based on the pluralism of ownership and different forms of enterprises. It supports the reform program of the federal government. The goal of economic policy, it is stressed in particular, should be the closest possible cooperation with the EEC and, in the foreseeable future, also the full integration of our country in this community. Cooperation with other European entities (EFTA) [European Free Trade Association] as well as regional cooperation in the framework of the Alpe-Adria community, will also be developed.

The aim of economic policy in the republic will be balanced regional development, and changes in the mechanism of aid to undeveloped republics and the Province of Kosovo and equally in the mechanism for stimulating the development of undeveloped municipalities in the republic are necessary. In this process, particular note is taken of the stimulation of direct investments regardless of the location of the enterprise that is ready to invest, and the formation of a special development bank that would stimulate such investments is also proposed.

In the intensified conditions of stabilization policy, some enterprises will not escape a reduction in the number of their employees or bankruptcy. The SKH-SDP will therefore advocate that appropriate funds for the social security of laid-off workers, assistance for retraining, compensation in terms of pension rights, and for employment in privately owned workshops and such are created.

The SKH-SDP advocates the development of modern agriculture, stressing among other things that healthy food is more important than record yields per hectare. In housing policy, it stresses that there should be as many apartments as there are families, while in taxation policy it advocates a taxation system that will ensure sufficient funds for public purposes, but at the same time will not cause a slowdown in economic activity. The SKH-SDP points out the comparative advantages in development, and here it also places special emphasis on the development of a modern transportation infrastructure,

including in this the Sentilj-Zagreb, Karlovac-Rijeka, Karlovac-Split, and the Adriatic highways and other roads.

The aim of the SKH-SDP national policy is to ensure the comprehensive and free development of every nation in Croatia and Yugoslavia. It is opposed to the conduct of national policy in accordance with outmoded traditional national frameworks of political and cultural thinking. It is against national exclusivity and intolerance, disintegration and conflict. It is in favor of a Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia as a sovereign democratic state of the citizens of Croatia, as the national state of the Croatian nation, as the state of the Serbian people in Croatia, and as the state of the nations and nationalities living in it.

The SKH-SDP program advocates a Yugoslavia as a federal state community that guarantees the equality of all nations and nationalities. The Yugoslav federation came into being as the expression of the constantly valid and inalienable right of the people to alienation [as received] that implies the right to association and the right to secession. Citizens and nations realize their contemporary rights originally and primarily in the republic. The federation, it is stressed, is the expression of the common interest and agreement of all the republics. The new constitution of the SFRY should be adopted with the consensus of all the republics.

The SKH-SDP advocates an assembly system in which a democratically elected assembly will be the basic exponent of power. In the new constitution of the SR of Croatia, the Presidency of the republic should be replaced by a president who would have restricted authority of a representative and ceremonial nature. The Croatian LC believes that the SFRY Presidency should remain a collective body made up of representatives of the republics elected in the republican assemblies. In its program the SKH-SDP also points out that the parties have nothing to worry about from the police and the Army.

In the field of culture, the SKH-SDP aspires to free, plural, and open creativity. It will support the activity of national cultural institutions in the republic but will advocate that in their work they avoid national antagonism and exclusivity. It also advocates the full democratization of relations between the sexes and generations, in family and in public life. It insists on economic development that should be based on a healthy environment.

The SKH-SDP electoral program is presented in about 50 pages entitled "For a Peaceful and Happy Life in Contemporary Democratic Croatia." It is organized into six thematic entities encompassing all areas of social life.

In its political marketing, the SKH-SDP has also printed a special badge on which there are three colors—blue, red and green with the slogan "We think seriously."

'Democratic Action of Croatia' Registers as Party*LD1003132190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1036 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] Zagreb, March 10 (TANJUG)—Another new party—the Democratic Action of Croatia (DAC) was registered in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia on Saturday.

The new party will aim at the development of a modern sovereign Croatian state of the European type within a confederal Yugoslavia together with the other nations and their states and on the basis of equality and the full respect of the sovereignty of each of them.

It will urge an integral market of goods, capital, labour, and ideas for the development of all forms of private entrepreneurship and its legal security, it was said.

DAC is the 26th party to be founded in Croatia over the past few months since the multiparty system was more or less officially adopted.

The majority of DAC members are young people, it was said.

Croatian Opposition Sets Out Election Platform*LD0903232290 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2124 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] Zagreb, March 9 (TANJUG)—The Coalition of National Accord of Croatia (NSH) will appear at the April elections with a platform under which Croatia would be set up as a sovereign and democratic state within Yugoslavia with the right to self-determination, secession and association with other peoples, NSH official Franjo Zenko told a press conference here tonight.

We are against a one-party monopoly and we want to topple the one here, Mika Tripalo, one of the leaders of the opposition bloc in Croatia told reporters. Tripalo was formerly a Croatian communist leader but was replaced by President Tito in 1971.

According to the NSH election platform, respect of basic human rights should be the essential principle of the Croatian state.

The Croatian opposition will urge the realization of national and individual rights of Croats living in other Yugoslav republics and at the same time guarantee the rights of other nations living in Croatia.

The Socialist Alliance—the Alliance of Socialists of Croatia—also set out its election platform today.

Until recently a heterogeneous mass political organization, the Socialist Alliance is preparing for the April elections and competition with other opposition parties.

The Socialist Alliance urges a new type of socialism and a free, parliamentary and democratic republic of Croatia, joined in an equal Yugoslav federation.

Croat Democratic Party Leaders Explain Policies*LD0903220390*

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1605 GMT on 8 March broadcasts a 32-minute party political program moderated by Miljenko Pajelic with Croat Democratic Party Chairman Vladimir Veselica and Professor Jerko Djerekat, Executive Committee chairman.

The program begins with Prof. Djerekat outlining the party's history since its formation on 4 November 1989, and pointing out that the party's pre-election program concentrates on education, health, and social security issues.

He goes on to say that the party is encountering organizational difficulties such as the problem of premises, the short time to elections, and lack of experience. The party plans to join the Coalition of National Accord together with the Croat Christian Democratic Party, the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance, the Croat Peace Movement, and the Social Democratic Party of Croatia.

Vladimir Veselica then talks about the party's orientations. It supports the transfer to multiparty politics following the crisis in real socialism; freedom and peace as basic human rights; Croatia's right to self-determination including the right to secession. Within Croatia, Veselica says, all nationalities should have equal and full rights and would, therefore, have no grounds for opposition. The party is in favor of a confederal system in Yugoslavia and supports Yugoslavia's membership of Europe as a confederation. The party believes that true democracy implies a pluralistic economic system with all forms of ownership, he says. On two areas of the economy that are very important to Croatia, agriculture and tourism, Veselica says the party supports the revitalization of rural areas and more involvement of other areas of the economy in promoting the tourist industry.

Continuing, Veselica says the party enjoys considerable support abroad and among Croats working in other countries, amounting to about 10,000 members. Overall membership is over 40,000. With the exception of those guilty of serious crimes, the party welcomes the return of Yugoslav political emigres or that they should have the right to vote abroad in the coming elections.

Veselica concludes by expounding on the party's views on education and culture.

Magyar People's Party of Croatia Founded*LD0803162390 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] The Magyar People's Party of Croatia is going to hold its founding plenary session in two weeks. The preparatory committee has met in (Voeroesmarton). It was said at the meeting that although 28 opposition democratic parties and organizations are already operating in Croatia, the Croat Legislative Assembly rejected

the proposal that at least one deputy should represent the national minorities in the parliament. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Called Symbol of 'Fascist Ideas'

AU0903115990 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA
in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 90 p 18

[Unattributed commentary: "Who Is Franjo Tudjman?"]

[Text] The name of Dr. Franjo Tudjman has not been absent from newspaper columns in the last few days. After the euphoric end to the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC] general assembly, his words have been echoing ominously and the words of his followers, who are now without any inhibitions invoking the phantom of Pavelic's "independent state," send forth messages of hatred and fratricide, destroy elementary human rights, and declare unconcealed pretensions for redesigning Yugoslavia's borders and setting up a so-called greater Croatia within some kind of "historical and natural borders." The name of the leader of this would-be democratic party is being uttered these days as a unique symbol of neo-Ustasha and fascist ideas.

Some newspaper reports present him as a Partisan general, a former top personnel officer in the Yugoslav People's Army, and an excellent historian. What is the truth? Who in fact is Franjo Tudjman?

He was born 14 May 1922 in Veliko Trgoviste in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. He participated in the National Liberation War after 1941. By the end of the war, he had reached the rank of major in the Yugoslav People's Army. In the years following the war, he held the post of sector chief and chief of the second department in personnel administration in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and assistant to and then head of department in the first administration of the General Staff, as well as assistant to the chief editor of the military encyclopedia. Therefore, he has never held leading command of administrative posts, much less had the role of a top personnel officer in our Army.

He was promoted to major general on 20 December 1960 and after almost eight months his active military service ended on 15 August 1961.

He was one of the creators and leaders of the anti-Communist, nationalist-separatist, and anti-Yugoslav mass movement in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. In September 1972, the Zagreb District Court convicted him for such activity and sentenced him in 1973 to two years in jail. At that point, he held the post of Administrative and Executive Council member and president of the Commission for Croatian History of the Croatian Matica that, as is well known, served as the backbone of the mass movement. He was again sentenced to three years in prison for activities from nationalist positions in 1981.

Since he had been sentenced to strict imprisonment, Tudjman was stripped of the rank of reserve major general and by an order of the head of the Personnel Administration of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense he was struck off the personnel list on 26 June 1973. At one time, he requested that the Office for the Social Security of Military Claimants recognize his right to an Army pension but his request was rejected. So the Army parted company with Tudjman a long time ago. He does not hold the rank of general that he himself happily invokes.

We could not judge Tudjman as a historian but it would not be inappropriate for us to cite only some of the claims that have been used in his numerous speeches, particularly abroad. He claims, for example, that the Ustasha movement is an integral part of Croatian history on an equal footing with the workers and Communist movements and, as could be heard recently at the assembly of the CDC, that the Independent State of Croatia is an expression of the natural aspirations of the Croatian people. He now claims that, "in all," 30,000 to 40,000 people of all nationalities died at Jasenovac and that the Ustasha crimes have been exaggerated 10 and 50 times over into a monstrous Jasenovac myth. Let us recall here: Somewhat earlier in his book "The Wilderness of Croatian Reality," he spoke about 60,000 Serbs who had died at Jasenovac, so the public should not be surprised if, in a future "counting of heads," Tudjman at least halves the figure of 30,000 victims. He supports the idea of national reconciliation and requests that Partisans, Ustashes, and the Home Guard be "buried in the same tomb." He proclaims Bosnia-Herzegovina to be Croatian land and claims that Muslims belong to the Croatian people from the point of view of location, language, and history.

In the lectures he gave last year in West Berlin and throughout the United States, he expressly demanded the creation of an independent Croatian state and claimed that Croatia can only thus protect itself from the supposed exploitation "that has lasted for decades." He accused Serbia of restructuring Yugoslavia into "Serbo-slavia," and on the pages of his book that was being sold for 200 crowns, he states: "I carry the torn Croatian soul within myself."

He cooperates closely with representatives of Ustasha emigrant circles. Despite emphatic declarations that those who participated in the terror cannot become CDC members, the CDC has also accepted a certain number of Ustasha terrorists for a membership fee of \$100. Otherwise, the CDC is financed by funds from emigrants, which best confirms what the leaders of this organization aspire to and whose cat's paw it is. It is quite certain that hostile Croatian emigrant circles would not accept Tudjman and the CDC if they did not really aspire to the destruction of Yugoslavia and the renovation of the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia.

The nature of Tudjman's statements abroad and his contacts with well-known advocates of terrorist action

against Yugoslavia is perhaps best shown by the fact that Mate Mestrovic—certainly the best-known name among Croatian emigrants—stresses that Tudjman is quite carelessly “in contact with certain emigrants, which could harm the democratic movements in the country” and “compromise the positions of the CDC in that part of the foreign and domestic public that discounts terrorism as a form of political struggle.” Prior to this, Mestrovic otherwise zealously advocated promoting Tudjman as “the leader of the Croatian opposition.” Tudjman has never refused this role of charismatic leader.

All in all, Tudjman is neither a Partisan general nor a former chief personnel officer in our Army; nor is he a real democrat and fighter for the interests of the Croatian people. He has for years been one of the standard-bearers of chauvinist ideology and is nowadays the head of what has recently been called a party of dangerous intentions.

Therefore, Tudjman and his brothers and people like them, regardless of the community in which they appear and on whose behalf they self-confidently act, should be decisively stopped in their destructive and fascistic course, actually on behalf of real democracy and the future of our country. No one has the right to behave tolerantly and benevolently toward them.

Croatian Assembly Supports Presidency on Kosovo

*LD1502152190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2007 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—At the close of this evening's joint session of all chambers of the Croatian Assembly, full support was given to the stances and conclusions of the SFRY Assembly and the Yugoslav Presidency on Kosovo. At the same time there was rejection of unargued and malicious accusations addressed to the Croat people concerning their alleged betrayal of Yugoslavia.

At the joint session, chaired by Assembly Vice President Dr Mato Crkvenac, the responsibility was noted of the majority nation in the republic for the equality of all nations and nationalities living in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

A call was addressed to all newly formed parties to make their full democratic contribution to the further development of the republic and the country with dignity, while bearing in mind the stability of Croatia, good relations between people, and in particular, between nations.

Ckrebic Discusses LCY Future, Reform

*AU0903083990 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 90 p 6*

[Article by Dusan Ckrebic, Central Committee Presidium member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY): “The LCY Faces the Challenge of the New Times”]

[Excerpts] Quite a lot of time had to pass before the League of Communists [LC] finally recognized the full inevitability of the need for it to transform itself. This is nothing strange. The logic of the party in power, the commanding and then leading political role, its constitutional position, and its firm partnership with the state—which is everything that it had in its long postwar period—extended until recently the illusion that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], in fact, does not need any particularly radical changes in its essence. [passage omitted]

Many circumstances at home and abroad, including those that nowadays strongly characterize the trends in East European countries, point out the necessity of change. However, if the truth be told, the LCY very gradually recognized within itself and developed the feeling of the inevitability of changes to its character, so that it could then be at a level to meet the demands of the new historical challenge. If this was not perceived and felt at the 13th Congress, it could be discerned at the first LCY conference in May 1988.

The LCY gave the stimulus to and initiated, through its decisiveness, the reform of Yugoslav society as a whole, knowing that by doing this it had to inevitably reform itself above all. Many questions have been asked of the LCY concerning the necessary establishment of a new economic system that will eliminate all ideological prejudices, to which it itself has been slave in the past, and the strong advocacy in the political system of establishing political pluralism to eliminate the unique ideological error that democratic socialism and political pluralism are incompatible.

At the same time, the LCY must clearly and precisely develop its new form under conditions of political pluralism: I would say that it must transform into a modern party that will use its internal democracy and attractive political program to win over and attract new followers, while struggling for its position in society through democratic means.

History and time will evaluate and assess the historical heritage of the LCY. The LCY has no need to apologize from the historical viewpoint. However, there have been

increasing attempts by the public to directly connect the LCY and the Yugoslav state with some occurrences, events, or actions from our distant or recent past that were unpleasant, controversial, unexplained, or simply uncivilized, or without legal justification, particularly seen from the perspective of the present day. These include Goli Otok and other camps, political liquidations, the complex Kosovo problems, including the direct line between Kosovo and Albania, some constitutional provisions of 1974 or earlier, the party's attitude toward some events and personalities in the revolution or the prewar years, and so on. It would be normal to set up state and party commissions as the need arose or, what would be even better, to enable Yugoslav historiographical experts to look into the archives in order to tell their story, to have their say, and publicly put to an end everything that could represent some kind of burden even today.

Leaving these matters open in the future can only harm the LCY, as well as the Yugoslav state, and can be abused for the purpose of constantly settling accounts with the party. [passage omitted]

I would stress that for the LCY to exist successfully in conditions of political pluralism, internal democracy is very important for the LCY. In our multinational conditions, it is important for the LCY to have the ability to respect certain characteristics possessed by its parts. Of course, bearing this in mind as its significant characteristics, one should ensure—certainly in a new way—that the LCY functions as a unified organization and a real cohesive force with capabilities in the new conditions.

The transformation of the LCY into a league of leagues or a subsequently proposed league of political entities are in fact two essentially different proposals that stemmed from the same community.

While a league of leagues is perceived as a league of autonomous parts of the LCY, which no longer have common organs but coordinate in some way, a league of political subjects, which was proposed by the LC of Slovenia at one time, in fact envisions a league of independent parties of left-wing orientation.

With this proposal, the LC of Slovenia actually at one time announced and then implemented its transformation into a "Party of Democratic Renewal" that is prepared in principle to enter into some kind of alliance, cooperation, and coalition with the LCY.

I am convinced that as regards the LCY, this inevitably leads to its destruction, is an attempt to create several parties out of it on a purely national basis, and this would really be the actual end of the LCY as a party of Yugoslav significance and character. This is the reason behind the resolute disagreement with this concept that was initiated by the LC of Slovenia, and that in the final analysis advocates the destruction of the federation, confederal relations in Yugoslavia, and the destruction of the Yugoslav People's Army and the creation of republican armies.

New Names for New Relations

I think that the new kind of internal relations in the LCY is not suited to the basic concept of "democratic centralism" as a synonym for the old relations of rigid discipline and former times. It would be neither a good nor wise thing to retain the old name for new relations in the LCY. [passage omitted]

I am sure that there will be no democratic centralism in either our new program or our statute. Why would we now persistently retain something that can only increase our disagreements in the LCY, multiply the differences, and needlessly represent a bone of contention? [passage omitted]

LCY Document on Extraordinary Congress

LD0803140490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee [LCY CC] believes comprehensive and politically legitimate efforts should be deployed to organize the continuation of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress on the basis of a new program platform and fresh organizational solution. This will provide a scope for participation in the congress of all parts of the LCY. This is being stressed in an LCY CC Presidium's document "Issues and Proposals Concerning the Interruption and the Continued Work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress" published today.

The Presidium drew up the document on the basis of proposals made by its special working group, remarks and suggestions by the LC leaderships from the republics and provinces, and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. The LCY CC Presidium will continue work on the document within the framework of preparations for next LCY CC session.

The following is the full text of the LCY CC Presidium's document [numbering as received]:

I. The Main Approach

1. In their work to resolve the situation created by the interruption of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, the LCY organs must proceed from the conclusions reached at the congress under which the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium and other organs, should continue their work [words indistinct] and carry out political preparations to ensure a successful outcome of the congress. To this end [words indistinct] main problems that brought about the present situation in the LCY. The congress called on the central and provincial LC committees to join forces with delegates to the 14th Extraordinary Congress to make efforts to this end. The LCY CC Presidium believes comprehensive and politically legitimate efforts should be deployed to organize the resumption of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress on the basis of a new program platform and fresh organizational solutions. This will provide scope for

participation in the work of the congress of all parts of the LCY. To this end the Presidium proposes the following:

- the congress to work in line with a reduced agenda.
- appropriate changes to be made in the congressional procedure book as recommended by this document.
- to formulate and adopt at the beginning of the congress appropriate statutory changes that would make it possible [words indistinct] as early as the 14th congress' decisions are made by consensus on program and other issues that will have to be resolved by agreement from all parts of the LCY and to regulate in an appropriate way issues on which the congress will make decisions, especially in a situation when at least one republican or provincial organization fails to give its agreement on the LCY's proposed program and statutory documents.
- the declaration to be the main program document until a new LCY program is drawn up.
- to prepare for adopting the text of the declaration, which must include the amendments adopted at the congress second plenary session and any new amendments and proposals concerning controversial issues to be endorsed by the LCY Central Committee.
- to adopt changes to the LCY statute to regulate the work of and the relations within the LCY until a new LCY program and statute are adopted; to elect new LCY organs.
- a new regular LCY congress to be convened as soon as possible and not later than a year after the 14th Extraordinary Congress has completed work to adopt a new program and statute.
- the LCY CC Presidium to outline and work out the way in which the republican and provincial LC organs, the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, as well as delegates to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress will take part in consultations about the preparations for the congress; a debate to be conducted on these issues in the republican and provincial LC committees and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army before the LCY CC session.
- a constructive and democratic political climate to be ensured during the preparations for end the work of the congress; the LC to step up its activities.

II. Controversial Issues and Possible Solutions

1. The Character of the LCY

In the course of the preparations for the congress, at the congress itself, and in discussions regarding the breakup of the congress, significant elements of harmonized orientations regarding the LCY transformation have crystallized. In short, they are the following: The LCY must be immediately transformed into a modern political party; relations within the LCY must be changed radically, that is, become democratic; the program, and on the whole, political objectives of the LCY must be redefined in line with the party model of political organization and the modern democratic political developments.

All relations within the LCY must be based on the creative role of members, democratic and humanitarian characteristics of human personality, liberties of man, the principle of voluntariness, mutual responsibility, the culture of dialogue, attitudes based on principles and tolerance, willingness to respect other opinions, dialectical relation between minorities and the majority, and democratic unity.

The LCY cohesion is built on and confirmed by those new democratic qualities and relations. It is based on the renewed concept of democratic socialism comprising political conception of pluralistic society and specific conditions for the activity of autonomous LCs in republics and provinces, which are parts of the Serbian LC.

The unity in the LCY should be built on consent on fundamental program orientations. Otherwise, the mechanical unity and attempts to create it artificially or forcibly would lead to further confrontations and disintegration of the LCY and consolidate the unitarist and centralist option, i.e. the monopoly of the federal party leadership or the inequality of republican organizations. The independence and specific nature of the constituent parts of the LCY can neither be a justification for negating the all-Yugoslav character of the LCY, nor an alibi for ignoring or departing from the democratically established policy of the LCY within the framework of the fundamental program orientations.

For this reason, democratic unity, in a dialogue and in the democratic analysis of alternatives, should be the basic principle of the LCY activity. This would ensure the development of many new qualities in relations [words indistinct] the creative verification of arguments and the seeking of new, better solutions.

The Presidium maintains that the differences in view of the character of the LCY should not be formalized and reduced to problems of terminology. It is more important to establish which elements from the new [word indistinct] of the LCY, that is without which elements it cannot function in new conditions.

The Presidium noted that these elements should, above all, consist of the following:

- that the LCY as a whole should have one basic [word indistinct], which expresses its democratic, Yugoslav, socialist identity, and republican organizations can have their own titles;
- that the activity of the LCY should be based on unique program and statutory principles (that it should have its own program and statute), and that republican and provincial organizations and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army should pass their own programs and statutes;
- that the LCY membership should be organized in republican and provincial organizations (which are part of Serbian LC) and in the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army;
- that the LCY should establish the main platform for elections in the Federal Assembly, that this platform can

be elaborated in republican and provincial organizations but that they should pass their own programs for elections in republics and provinces autonomously, and that they should act independently and autonomously in elections and in the process of participation in the state power duties in republics and the federation.

Proceeding from the above elements, the Presidium proposes the formulation of a basic program stand in connection with the transformation of the LCY, which would be included in the declaration (in item 18 instead of the present item 2), and that could be worded: "The LCY is a modern democratic Yugoslav political party that consists of LC members organized in republican and provincial organizations—which are part of the Serbian LC and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. The LCY activity is based on uniform program and statutory principles and advocates democratic socialism, self-management, national equality, independence and the integrity of Yugoslavia as a federative community of equal nations and nationalities. The [words indistinct] independence and equality of all parts of the LCY will be developed on this basis. Democratic principles will apply to mutual relations within the LCY. In conditions of the pluralist political organization of society, the LCY will act as an equal political party that takes part in political power on the basis of electoral success and in correspondence with this success, and that gets its political legitimacy from elections. It will develop democratic interaction with other political subjects and form alliances with socialist-oriented parties and other political organizations.

We will base relations within the LCY on principles of democratic unity.

We will build organizational forms, relations, and modes of decision making within the LCY so as to serve election and other party political objectives. Decision making within the LCY, bearing in mind the independence and responsibility of its constituent parts, will be based on the combination of the principles of consensus and majority rule. The LCY congressional bodies can make decisions about the program and statute, about how to constitute LCY bodies and about issues regarding national equality in Yugoslavia only on the basis of consensus between republican LC organizations."

2. Principles of LCY Organization and Activity

The principle of democratic centralism is no longer appropriate for new relations within the LCY. Hence, the resumed congress should develop the model of new relations between members, bodies, and organizations based on the principle of democratic unity. We should proceed from the principle that all LC members are equal and have equal rights, that relations between all types of organizations are democratic, and that obligations of component parts are equally valid for all structures within the LC. Only democratically made decisions can be binding.

The agreement was reached that the principle of democratic centralism is to be abandoned and that the principle of democratic unity, as well as new quality in relations, competition and circulation of ideas within framework of the basic program orientations, are to be established. It was also decided that democratic relations between all types of organizations are necessary. This presupposes a substantial change in the status of members and in attitudes toward minorities, as well as developing these ideas in program and statutory texts.

It is essential to renounce the normative system based on the principle of party state, as well as the party's unity and disciplinary measures against membership with the help of organs, because this incapacitates the LCY in new conditions. The LCY and its parts must act on the principle of democratic interaction of membership, which is based on equal or similar political views and goals,—as a voluntary democratic organization, but at the same time an organization which functions efficiently and whose organs, being responsible toward the membership, also have responsibilities for decision-making and political leadership.

On the other hand, there should be a redefinition of the duties of the membership and party representatives who are elected in organs of the state power; the rules of party discipline should be established for those who—due to the support and efforts of the party—gained the citizens' trust for carrying out responsible state and social tasks, which implies the regulation of relations and party's responsibilities toward voters. This is the essential new sphere in the party life in a multiparty parliamentary democracy, which must be insisted upon, instead of exhausting discussions on dilemmas concerning whether old rules and the spirit of internal party unity and discipline will remain. The aim is not the unity of the LCY as a value on its own, but the success of a party policy in a multiparty competition.

3. The Mode of Decision making in LCY Bodies

The general orientation has been already crystalized that decision making in the LCY bodies, bearing in mind the independence and equality of LC constitutive parts, should be carried out on the basis of the combination of the principle of consensus and of majority rule. It is left to be specified or formulated in writing about which issues the LCY Central Committee and congresses will decide on the basis of consensus. The Presidium proposes that decisions about basic program and statutory orientations, how to constitute LCY bodies and LCY orientations regarding political and national equality in Yugoslavia, are made on the basis of consensus.

It is realistic to expect that on the basis of these proposals, a joint solution will be found that would guarantee the necessary independence and responsibility of LCY constituent parts in decision making, as well as democratism in their relations, which, at the same time, would ensure necessary efficiency of the LCY bodies which need as a modern political party. [as received] It is

important that centralization (unitarization) of the LCY or its disintegration into several parties is brought about by decision making procedures.

Note: When an agreement is reached about this issue, appropriate statutory and rule-book decisions for the congress work should be prepared so that this forum starts to decide through consensus about its program and other envisioned issues.

4. Some Questions Concerning the LCY Organization

To establish the initial stand whereby the LCY will be shown as advocating the greatest possible freedom and flexibility of party organization, proceeding first of all from the interests of members and the implementation of the party's program aims: that the party will, in keeping with this principle, further transform and develop its internal organization to enable different forms of membership integration, including the pluralism of forms that unite members and other citizens on the basis of joint interests (protection of environment, the status of women, citizens' political rights) and that could have greater program and organizational independence; to begin preparations for the abolition of LC organizations in justice and administration to ensure the independence of these organs in keeping with the principles of a law-governed state.

III. [no textual subhead as received]

At the first conference of the Slovene LC the following conclusion was reached: "The 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress has ended as far as the Slovene LC is concerned. The LCY, such as it existed before this congress, has ceased to exist. With it ceased to exist its organs, all new financial obligations of the Slovene LC toward it and thus its individual membership in it. The Slovene LC acts as an independent political organization with its own membership, program and statute." This considerably changes the situation in the LCY.

In this regard, it is the Presidium's view that:

- the new program framework of the LCY and statutory solutions concerning relations in the LCY, which are being proposed, represent a sufficiently broad scope for the inclusion of all parts in the LCY;
- if the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic Renewal—until the resumption of the congress—refuses to accept the proposed program and statutory orientations and thus the existence of the LCY, delegates should in the continuation of the congress:
- pass necessary statutory, procedural, and other decisions in this regard that would, above all, regulate the composition and method of work of the LCY organs in the new situation;
- the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic Renewal should be invited to co-operate in connection with joint programme aims and that methods and forms of this cooperation should be established.

IV. Difference Connected with some other Program Orientations in the Declaration

1. The inclusion of Yugoslavia in European integration process

There are two somewhat different approaches of this issue. According to the first approach, the LCY should not directly seek Yugoslavia's inclusion in the EC because this would mean not just the economic, but also the political integration in which Yugoslavia would have to renounce part of its sovereignty, even independence, and therefore these issues ought to remain open and efforts should only be made toward comprehensive participation and the broadest possible cooperation with this community and with other European organizations and institutions.

The second approach—which did not gain the necessary majority at the congress—calls for retaining the stand that was previously contained in the draft declaration and according to which the LCY directly seeks membership in the EC and other European integrations, with the explanation that this is a condition for economic efficiency and political democratization in our country, and thus a condition for the LCY's survival. A similar view was held by the Croat LC CC in its stands adopted after the congress, in which it states that "we can jointly accept to act and share responsibility with those who strive, without any reservations, toward Yugoslavia's inclusion in Europe and Europe's inclusion in Yugoslavia."

Proposal:

Since, in the course of the preparations for the congress, a high degree of agreement, even in the LCY CC was reached about the second proposal, it can be proposed to the congress to turn back to the previous formulation with the explanation that, thereby, the LCY expresses its principled political stance and that the task of competent state bodies is to think through all aspects of this issue, so that then all citizens (perhaps through a national referendum) express their views about it, and, then state bodies make other necessary decisions. Such a stance can be added to the declaration for the sake of clarification.

Political Criminal Offense and Former and Current Trials for Those Offenses

Mutually incompatible stands about the issue were presented at the congress. According to a stand, all political criminal proceedings should be abandoned immediately and the opening of new proceedings should be prevented until a new democratic constitution does not preclude them. The stances of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, issued after the congress, also demand as a precondition of a joint activity, that the LCY adopt a stand demanding the end to all political processes, the release [words indistinct] the abolition of death penalty, and the promotion of prisoners' human rights.

It is possible to look in the LCY orientation for a common solution regarding the urgent change to the existing legislation, aimed at the abolition of verbal offense, so that, then, the embarked on political processes could be ended in a manner appropriate to law-governed state, because new legal norms could be more favorably applied to these trials. [sentence as received]

Note: The Presidium holds that possible controversial issues contained in the text of the declaration, which could provide a reason for new controversies and withdrawal of approval of some LCY parts when making decisions at the congress, should be reconsidered.

Reconvening of LCY Congress 'Uncertain'

LD0903203590 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1501 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—It is true that the solutions on the proposed resumption of the adjourned 14th Congress of Yugoslav Communists, as stated in a document released by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidency, were unthinkable only a month ago, but it is equally true that the proclaimed resumption of the congress is still under a big question mark.

It has been accepted that the principle of democratic centralism, which was the object of much controversy even at the congress itself, should be removed and replaced with the (still vague) principle of democratic unity, or rather that the decisions in the LCY shall be made through a combination of consensus and majority vote. Judging by the whole wording of the document, the "league of leagues" too is likely to become a certainty.

This could be said to have been the reason why the LCY leadership found that the document offers a "sufficiently broad framework for all parts of the LCY to join in work of the congress." However, a brief message by Croat communist leader Ivica Racan has already arrived, stating that for the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Transformation, the 14th special congress is definitively over and that convening the 15th (regular) congress alone could be considered.

In view of the vacillations in the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia about the prospects of the congress continuing, a question arose—what was the basis of the LCY Central Committee Presidency's stand that it was "both appropriate and politically legitimate to organize a resumption of the 14th special congress."

It has been announced that the LCY Central Committee will declare itself on its presidency's document on March 22, at its first session since the congress was adjourned last January.

However, bearing in mind all the differences between top party leaderships that seem to be leading their organizations slowly but certainly, along the path of party emancipation, it seems uncertain, at least at

present, whether the LCY Central Committee plenum, already adjourned once before, will actually convene.

Markovic Leaves for EC Talks in Brussels

LD0803144690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0814 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic left Belgrade this morning for a one-day visit to Brussels for talks with EC Commission President Jacques Delors.

Foreign Affairs Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar is accompanying Premier Markovic on this visit. [passage omitted]

Markovic Discusses Issues

LD0903124690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Brussels, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—This will be a decisive year for the future of Yugoslavia as a country with a second economy and pluralist political system, which can find its place in European integration and its democratic and civilizing processes, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic said this afternoon during his meeting with journalists accredited to the EC.

At the news conference in the Brussels international press center he expressed satisfaction at today's dialogue with European Commission Chairman Jacques Delors, stressing the joint stand that the time has come to bring "a new quality" into the otherwise varied or good relations between Yugoslavia and the European 12.

Replying to questions from a large number of journalists accredited to the EC, Ante Markovic made it clear that relations between the EC and Yugoslavia cannot be compared or linked with the contacts that the EC is beginning to establish with countries of Central and East Europe. For quite some time now, Yugoslavia has been maintaining close and many-faceted contacts with the EC, and their further development is logical as it expresses mutual needs and requires new forms of cooperation. With his host, Markovic examined, within this context, prospects for raising present cooperation to a level of "association," meaning that Yugoslavia should obtain the status of associate member of the EC. This Yugoslav initiative, which Budimir Loncar launched last autumn in Brussels, was also approved today. There were also talks about some forms in which it could be realized, but there is still a great deal of work to be done before this finally comes true.

At the news conference as well as during the meeting with Delors, the Federal Executive Council president spoke in detail about economic and political conditions in Yugoslavia and attempts to overcome them. He stressed the important successes that his government has managed to achieve in a short period of time, especially in reduced inflation, an increase in foreign currency reserves, and the project for convertibility of the dinar.

These results were achieved by our own efforts; and without anyone's help Yugoslavia repaid the West \$3.8 billion of debt and interests last year.

In other words, stressed Markovic, Yugoslavia has set off on the road to changes in a big way, including some changes that are under way and others that are being prepared at the level of the democratization of society, respect for the principles of a law-governed state, and the establishment of a multiparty system with a secret ballot. On this road, he added, we encounter resistance from the forces of 'he old, dogmatic, conservative, nationalist, and separatist currents, all those who are the losers in these new conditions; but there can be no going back to the old practice.

Yugoslavia expects to have financial or other support for its reforms. European Commission Chairman Jacques Delors confirmed today that it will be given support, and an interesting and important discussion was held on this. It seems, however, that the head of the Yugoslav Government did not completely satisfy the curiosity of the journalists who were interested in more details, as far as methods and amounts were concerned. Agreement on this has not yet been elaborated, and the dialogue with Jacques Delors will be continued in Yugoslavia, but it will all proceed quickly. As early as the beginning of next month, Abel Matutes, European commissioner for the region of the Mediterranean and developing countries, will be arriving in Belgrade.

Markovic Returns

LD0903125190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic returned to Belgrade tonight after his one-day visit to the EC in Brussels.

Premier Marjovic had talks in Brussels with European Commission President Jacques Delors about expanding cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EC, as well as about the financial support of the European 12 for Yugoslavia's economic reforms.

Foreign Affairs Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar traveled with the head of the Yugoslav Government on the visit to the EC.

Market Principles to Govern Ties With Poland

LD0903225590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1912 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 9 (TANJUG)—As of this year, Yugoslavia and Poland will not sign annual protocols on goods exchanges nor establish goods lists, it was decided today by the presidents of the two countries' committee for economic cooperation. Yugoslav Trade Secretary Nazmi Mustafa and Polish Deputy Prime Minister and Agriculture [as received] Czeslaw Janicki.

The decision is in line with the economic reforms in the two countries which assume the total independence of enterprises. According to the two presidents the new relations will demand greater attention to be devoted to higher forms of economic cooperation, particularly joint investments.

The Polish agriculture minister today also spoke with Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic on the need for establishing Yugoslav-Polish economic cooperation on a long-term basis through the development of so-called higher forms.

Through the enrichment of cooperation, the two sides see guarantees for maintaining and further increasing mutual trade, which last year reached a record value of 910.3 million dollars (with Yugoslav exports accounting for 431.4 million dollars).

Poland is Yugoslavia's second-trade partner among East European countries. The two countries have had an agreement since 1974 on hard currency payments, however, only 24 percent of last year's exchanged goods were paid in such a way. It is expected that the new relations, which both countries are urging, will increase this percent.

Drnovsek, Loncar Receive Indian Foreign Minister

LD0903225990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1858 GMT 9 Mar 90

[“Pool” item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—The movement of the nonaligned has to engage itself more on finding the new forms of north-south cooperation and on solving the key economic problems of developing countries—it was jointly assessed today by Yugoslav President Janez Drnovsek and Indian Minister of External Affairs Inder Kumar Gujral. Gujral is on his Yugoslav visit since Wednesday as guest of his colleague Budimir Loncar.

In Gujral's talks with Drnovsek, the importance of the forthcoming consultation of the group of 15 nonaligned countries was stressed concerning their mutual economic cooperation and the re-establishment of dialogue with industrialized countries. In his talks with Loncar it was assessed that the need existed for the revival of the standing ministerial committee of the nonaligned and developing countries to deal with problems of south-south and north-south cooperation.

The two ministers also focused attention on international situation, especially changes in Europe's east and the hotbeds of crises in the Middle East and Africa's south.

The Indian minister assessed that bloc divisions were not disappearing in the world, although bloc alliances were undergoing transformations. Gujral held that there was a tendency to strengthen NATO, which, according to him,

was one more reason to carry on with the active work of the movement of the nonaligned.

The recent reforms in South Africa (where one million Indians live) were appraised by the Indian minister as positive, but he insisted on continuing international pressures to make Pretoria abolish apartheid.

In assessing the bilateral relations as exceptionally good, the two ministers paid special attention to the diversification of economic cooperation, particularly through concrete large-scale projects in this domain.

The Indian minister of external affairs should also be received later today by Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic. Gujral is winding up his visit here tomorrow.

Gujral Meets Leaders

*BK1003133090 Delhi Domestic Service
in English 1230 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] India and Yugoslavia have agreed to expand and diversify their trade and explore possibilities of joint ventures and cooperation in the fields of power generation and shipbuilding. The decision to this effect was taken at the talks External Affairs Minister I.K. Gujral, had with the Yugoslav leaders during his three-day visit to Belgrade.

Mr. Gujral had wide-ranging talks with his Yugoslav counterpart, Mr. Budimir Loncar, on bilateral issues and

international issues of mutual concern. The challenges facing the Nonaligned Movement also came up for discussion. Mr. Gujral also called on Yugoslav Prime Minister Mr. Markovic. It was decided that the next meeting of the Indo-Yugoslav joint commission will be held in Belgrade in June next.

Diplomatic Relations Restored With Chile

*LD1103230190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2110 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[“Pool” item]

[Text] Santiago, March 11 (TANJUG)—A protocol on the restoration of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Chile on the level of ambassadors was signed here today.

The protocol, which became effective immediately, was signed by Murat Agovic, under-secretary in the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry, and new Chilean Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma.

The Governments of Yugoslavia and Chile decided to restore diplomatic relations after President Patricio Aylwin took over. The two countries believe that the restoration of diplomatic relations will contribute to the promotion of friendship and comprehensive cooperation.